

Pali Text Society.

Journal

OF THE

PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

1883

EDITED BY

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PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

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This Society has been started in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various MSS scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe

The historical importance of these Texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is already certain that they were all put into their present form within a very limited period, probably extending to less than a century and a half (about B C 400–250). For that period they have preserved for us a record, quite uncontaminated by filtration through any European mind, of the every-day beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves, just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has

influenced so powerfully, and for so long a time, so great a portion of the human race—the system of religion which we now call Buddhism. The sacred books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to early Christianity. In the history of speech they contain unimpeachable evidence of a stage in language midway between the Vedic Sanskrit and the various modern forms of speech in India. In the history of Indian literature there is nothing older than these works, excepting only the Vedic writings, and all the later classical Sanskrit literature has been profoundly influenced by the intellectual struggle of which they afford the only direct evidence. It is not, therefore, too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history,—whether anthropological, philological, literary, or religious,—than the publication of the Vedas has already been.

The Subscription to the Society is One Guinea a year, or Five Guineas for six years, payable in advance. Each subscriber receives, post free, the publications of the Society.

It is hoped that persons who are desirous to aid the publication of these important historical texts will give Donations to be spread if necessary over a term of years.

** * Subscriptions for 1884 are now due, and it is earnestly requested that subscribers will send in their payments without putting the Chairman to the expense and trouble of personally asking for them. All who can conveniently do so should send the Five Guineas for six years, to their own benefit and that of the Society also.*

REPORT

OF THE

PĀLI TEXT SOCIETY FOR 1883

ON coming before the members of the Pāli Text Society at the commencement of a second year, I have again to congratulate them on the improved position to which it has attained during the last twelve months. The number of five-guinea subscribers has risen from 18 to 39, while notwithstanding the fact that several of the one-guinea subscribers of last year have transferred themselves to the higher list, and two of them have transferred themselves to the Ceylon local list, yet the number of one-guinea subscribers in this year's list is greater by two than that in the last (75 as against 73). In other words, the number of our members in Europe and America has risen from 91 to 114, not including two new subscribers who have joined us since the beginning of the year 1884. This is so far very satisfactory. But it is needless to point out that it is not yet enough. We ought to have at least 200 subscribers to place the Society on that permanent footing which it so richly deserves, and I venture to hope that each of our members will feel it to be his duty to spread the knowledge of the Society among his acquaintances, and to endeavour to obtain new subscribers or new donors. Your chairman's power in this respect has now been exhausted, and it remains for the members of the Society to do their part. There must be many persons of wealth, known to our members, who would

be willing to aid so good a cause if its claims were properly put before them. And though those of our members who are scholars are also, for that reason, mostly poor in purse, they are rich in influence which they can legitimately use.

Our friends in Ceylon have continued to support our undertaking. Four of them are five-guinea subscribers, and eighty-seven of them had paid their second subscription before the accounts were made up by our honorary local agent, the Atapattu Mudaliar of Galle, to whose business capacity and public-spirited zeal the Society owes so much. The result is that after payment of all the local expenses, including purchase of MSS, there is a balance there of nearly £90 in favour of the Society.

To pass now to our this year's publications, we present our subscribers with the *Thera- and Therî-Gâthâ*, edited by Professor Oldenberg and Professor Pischel respectively, the latter of whom has been kind enough to draw up the index to the whole work. These ancient hymns contain many passages of great beauty and power, and afford valuable evidence of the high ideal of life prevailing among the early Buddhists. There seems to be no good reason for doubting the tradition which ascribes their composition to different members of the Buddhist order, though the general tone is the same throughout, and certain favourite expressions recur in hymns attributed to different authors. It is especially worthy of notice that several of the most beautiful and striking of these poems are said to be, and no doubt actually were, the work of women. It is quite justifiable to claim the main credit of this remarkable fact for Buddhism. Had they not become Bhikkhunîs, the gifted authors would not have had either the mental stimulus or the literary training which enabled them to compose their hymns. But it is none the less true that the *Therî-Gâthâ* affords fresh proof, if such be needed, that the present position of women in India is a modern innovation, due in great part to the influence of Muhammadanism, and alien to the whole spirit of ancient Indian institutions. I would add that it would have been impossible for these poems to have been published

thus early if it had not been for the help of the well-known native scholar, Subhûti Unnânsê of Waskaduwa, who most generously sent us on loan, all the way from Ceylon, four of his own MSS

Dr Morris gives us this year the Puggala Paññatti, the first text which has yet been published from the Abhidhamma Pîṭaka, and for that reason alone of great interest and value. It has been supposed that the Abhidhamma was different from the Dhamma in the sense of being more metaphysical. The publication of this text shows that this is not the case. It deals exclusively with the ethics of the so-called "Excellent Way," and contains nothing inconsistent with the no doubt earlier Suttas of the four great Nikâyas. It explains a very considerable number of the most important technical and figurative expressions used of those who are walking along the stages of that Excellent Way, and the valuable Index which Dr Morris has appended to his text will enable these explanations to be readily referred to and easily used.

I have in my possession a very excellent MS of the commentary on this book. Our Ceylon contributors do not care for extracts only being given from such commentaries. They prefer to have the whole work, the more especially as it is precisely those parts of a commentary which a European editor is most likely to omit—the exegetical parts—to which they naturally attach the most importance. With this feeling I confess myself to have much sympathy, and Dr Morris and myself intend therefore to edit the whole of this commentary unabridged, during this year if possible, and if not during next year.

In another respect the Ceylon scholars object to abridgments. Professor Oldenberg in his Vinaya, and Dr Morris in the first part of his Anguttara, have put sometimes the first letters only, of the words in constantly repeated clauses, for the words themselves. To this the Ceylon readers have a strong antipathy, which has been brought to my notice not only by the Atapattu Mudaliar of Galle, but also by other correspondents. The nature of these complaints will

appear from the following remarks of Sṛī Saddhānanda Thera of Ratgama, who, with reference to the Anguttara (and after praising the size of the letters, and the form and shape of the volume itself, as very satisfactory), goes on to say "The Dhamma, and the Vinaya, and the commentaries upon them were recorded in books without any interference with the regular succession of words as handed down by the Arahats who heard them from the mouth of the Blessed One himself, and as preserved at the three Councils of five hundred, of seven hundred, and of ten hundred, held subsequent to the Buddha's decease by the pure and learned servants of the Sammā Sambuddha, presided over by the Theras Mahā Kassapa, and Sabbakāmi, and Yasa, and since then also at the Council held during a whole year at the Āloka Wihāra in Ceylon by Arahats who were about a thousand in number. On those occasions, for the sake of curtailment in passages that were alike, they made abbreviations which they designated by letter-signs such as 'pe'. And to interfere, either with words or letters, otherwise than is done by the *peyyalams* made use of by the Arahats, has frequently been declared to be not good. Apart from myself, many learned members of the Order have declared to me how much they dislike any such other abbreviations. Any manuscript copies made from (printed) texts so abbreviated would be at variance with the traditional readings. So at page 2, line 15, of the above-named work, *pariyadīyati* is expressed by *par*^o, and at line 6 *samanupassami* by *sam*^o, and often *bh*^o stands where *bhikkhave* should be." Now it is even quite open to question whether the frequent use of such abbreviations is useful to the European reader. It is true that one who is reading straight on will know quite well what is meant, but when a student, turning to a passage for reference only, comes suddenly upon several successive words so shortened, then the mechanical trouble, which the writer has saved himself, is transferred to the reader's shoulders, and he is obliged, with much loss of time, to look backwards and forwards in order to find out what the words, merely suggested and

not fully expressed, really are Whatever they may think of this argument, our editors will, I am sure, be quite ready to fall in with the very intelligible scruples of our numerous subscribers in Ceylon, and will refrain therefore, as far as possible, from the use of any other contractions than the *peyyalams*, as found in the native MSS

Our Journal this year comes nearer to what it is intended to be than it was last year and contains a number of original papers likely to be interesting to those who wish to understand the Pâli Pitakas We have, as before, lists of MSS in Europe, but these are supplemented by other helps to the study of our Pâli Texts Thus Dr Edward Muller of Cardiff College gives us an independent text, the Khudda- and Mûla-Sikkhâ, which is a kind of summary, in the form of a *memoria technica*, of the Vinaya It is assigned by tradition to a period antecedent to Buddhaghosa (A D 377), and to two authors (Maha Sâmi for the Khudda and Dhamma Sîri for the Mûla) said to be Bhikkhus then residing at Anurâdhapura Dr Edward Muller is evidently disposed to think that the evidence of the language used in the two works is against this tradition, and would rather tend to show that they must be assigned to the sixth or even the seventh century On this point it is important to recollect the course of the development of Pâli Literature in Ceylon Pâli was there studied for a long time after the introduction of Buddhism merely as a dead language in which the sacred books were handed down The commentaries on those books were studied in Sinhalese prose, a line or two of Pâli verse being introduced here and there at salient points to emphasize or sum up the narrative The chronicles of the Order were kept in the same form, and Professor Oldenberg has clearly shown how the Dîpavansa must have been based on such a chronicle preserved in the Mahâ Vihâra at Anurâdhapura That book is very probably, indeed, little more than a collection of the "emphatic verses" from the previously existing prose chronicle in Sinhalese It was only with Mahânâma and Buddhaghosa that independent and original works were actually composed throughout in Pâli Their

successors—the authors, for instance, of the Jātaka Book, and of the Mahāvansa Tīkā, and of commentaries on the Dhammapada, which latter work is not by Buddhaghosa¹—were imitators of their style and method. During this period Pāli was used in Ceylon very much as Latin was before the Reformation in Europe. It had become a cultivated literary language, and though there was a difference between it and the Pāli of the Pīṭakas similar to, though less than, the difference between mediæval and classical Latin, still those who used it had a distinct mastery over it. We do not know how long this period lasted. The continual incursions of the Tamils, the general disorder in the kingdom, must have been incompatible with much literary effort for a long time before the rise of Parākrama the Great. There is no evidence to show that it lasted for even so long as three centuries. With Parākrama's conquest of South India a new era began. Sanskrit was much studied, and the influence of Sanskrit becomes plainly perceptible in the loss of simplicity and freedom, in the long compounds, in the intricate versification, of the Pāli works of Ceylon authors written after that date. It is needless for the purposes of this argument to come any further down and of these three periods, which may be called the *memoriter period*, the *commentary period*, and the *Sanskritized period*, it seems very hazardous to assign the rough and ready memorial verses of the Khudda- and Mūla-Sikkha to any other than the first. I venture therefore to think that the traditional date, about 377 A D, should be accepted as the best working hypothesis for the date of these two works. There are enough differences—though these of course not on the most vital points—between the summary in these books and the Vinaya itself to make them of considerable interest for the history of the Buddhist Order in Ceylon, and more than enough to justify these few remarks. I hope to insert an article in a future number of the Journal dealing in detail with these curious differences.

¹ See my "Buddhist Birth Stories," pp lxiii-lxv

Professor Max Muller has been kind enough to allow me to reprint the very beautiful letter which he wrote to the *Times* on the death of one of our members, the young Japanese Buddhist Scholar at Oxford, Kenjiu Kasawara. This will I trust become a precedent with us, and I knew Mr Kasawara well enough to appreciate how well he deserves all that his Professor says of him.

The writer has added a note on certain questions of the literary history of early Buddhism, which shows, in the same manner as the excursus appended to his Cambridge Lectures did, how valuable for the decision of such questions are the notices contained in the Chinese Buddhist literature. I trust that the whole subject of early Buddhist history will be exhaustively dealt with from this point of view in a forthcoming work by Mr Watters, who will perhaps touch on some points of it in our next year's issue. Already in our present issue the 'Notes and Queries' by Mr Bendall show how close is the connection between the various literatures of early Buddhism, and the more we know of them, the more, I am convinced, will this prove to be the case. It will be not the least of the advantages of our Pāli Text Society if it should aid the workers in the vast field of the history of Buddhism—the history of half the world for nearly twenty centuries—to know one another better, and appreciate one another's labours more.

The lists of MSS given in our present number conclude all the great collections. Those in Berlin, and the few in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, will follow in our next. We are still much pressed for want of good MSS of the texts we have in hand. I have been fortunate enough to commence a correspondence with a gentleman in Burma, Mr P. E. Raven, of the Public Works Department there, who has already shown himself to be a good friend to scholarship by sending us MSS of the Patthāna and of the Sumangala Vilāsinā on the Mahāvagga of the Dīgha Nikāya, and who promises to send us more. The MS of the commentary on the Puggala Paññatti, referred to above, arrived from Ceylon just in time to enable Dr Morris to complete

his edition of that work for this year But we want more Our friends in Burma and Ceylon must recollect that three or four good and independent MSS at least are required for the proper publication of any one text, and I would repeat the appeal made in our last journal for copies of such MSS of

Udâna	Patīsamābhūḍā
Vimāna-vatthu	Āpāḍāna
Peta-vatthu	Kathā-vatthu
Niddesa	Vibhanga—and
Visuddhi-magga	Dhatu-kathā,

with the respective commentaries upon them The Atapattu Mudahar of Galle has in this respect, as in so many others, been hitherto a good friend to us, and so has Subhūti Unnānsē, but only two others of our subscribers in Ceylon, Bulatgama Unnānsē and Sri Saddhānanda of Ratgama (whose remarks I have quoted above, and another letter from whom was printed in our *Journal* for 1882) have come forward to help us

Our next year's issue will include the Iti-vuttaka, by Professor Windisch of Leipzig, and an edition of the Abhi-dhammattha Sangaha, and an instalment of at least one of the great Nikāyas, besides the subsidiary papers which will appear in the *Journal*

T W RHYS DAVIDS

P S Might I venture to ask those yearly subscribers, who have not as yet done so, to send in their subscriptions for 1884 as soon as possible If they wait till the end of the year, the issue of our publications will be again delayed next year, as it has been this, by getting in the subscriptions at the last moment Though we have improved in this matter upon last year, there is still room for improvement, and this assistance is not a great thing to ask from those who, by the very fact of their subscribing at all, have shown their interest in our work

B U D D H I S M :

ITS ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND DOCTRINES

ITS SCRIPTURES,

AND

THEIR LANGUAGE, THE PALI

BEING TWO LECTURES DELIVERED AT COLOMBO,

BY

JAMES ALWIS, Esq

“ BREVIS ESSE LABORO, OBSCURUS FIO ”

For the Benefit of the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society

[Reprinted from the *Colombo Observer*]

[At the special request of some of our subscribers in Ceylon, the following two Lectures by a distinguished native Scholar are here reprinted from the *Colombo Observer* of the 22nd May, 1862]

LECTURE FIRST

DELIVERED IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER,

On the 25th October, 1861

BUDDHISM, ITS ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND DOCTRINES

THE topic of my discourse this evening is, as you are aware, *Buddhism*. It is a subject of great and peculiar interest. It is invested with interest not only because Gôtama effected a change of Brahman institutions on Brahman soil—not only on account of the tendency which his doctrines had to upset the social polity of all eastern nations, the system of castes,—but also for the most wonderful results which Buddhism has effected in the greater part of Asia. Perhaps there is not—certainly, there was not, in the whole world a religion of human invention, which deserves greater examination than Buddhism. It began in the very dawn of history. Its history commenced with the very commencement of what may be called *Chronology*. Its era divided the history of the East into two parts, just as the Christian era served to divide the history of the world¹. Nor is this all the interest which attaches to the subject. Buddhism has more than any other religion spread amongst men. It is the religion which, having been banished from its native land so entirely, that it is almost unknown there, has at the present day, upwards of 2449 years after its first promulgation, a larger number of

¹ Prof Max Muller's Sanscrit Lit. p. 30

followers than any other religion on the face of the whole earth, and amounting to nearly one-third of the human race¹ It is also a remarkable fact as stated by Mr Hardy that "there is no country in either Europe or Asia besides those that are Buddhist in which the same religion is now professed that was there extant at the time of the Redeemer's death"²

There is a still higher interest connected with the subject, when we regard Buddhism as the religion which has forged the fetters in which Brahmanism has been bound, which has humanized a great portion of mankind in the East, and which has established its civilizing influence in the greater part of Western Asia, and in our own Island This last was the result of the mildness of the doctrines which Buddhism inculcates, and it will be noticed that they prescribe a code of morality, superior to every system with which we are acquainted, except that of Christianity

I shall briefly consider it here in three different points of view —*First*, as to its origin, *Secondly*, its doctrines, and *Thirdly*, its prospects

More than five centuries before the manifestation of our Saviour in this world, in an 'age remarkable for the first diffusion and potent influence of distinct religious brotherhood, mystic rites, and expiatory ceremonies'³ in the West, when the doctrine of 'an infinity of worlds' was taught by an Anaximander and a Xenophanes,—when Brahmanism had been 'reduced from the worship of nature to theism, and had declined into scepticism with the learned, and men-worship with the vulgar,'⁴ and was through the neglect of its professors fast dwindling into decay,⁵—and, at a time too, when the Hindoos were marked with the barbarity of human sacrifice, various persons in Asia founded religious

¹ Sir E Tennent's Christianity, p 199 Also M Troyer's Râjataranginî, 399, Hardy's East Mon p v

² Hardy's East. Mon p 327

³ Grote's Greece

Hist of India, vol 1, B 2, c iv
Buddhavaṇsa

associations proclaiming different doctrines for the salvation of man. Some were *Digambaras*, and the morality of the times suffered them to go about naked. Others were *Sietambaras* or those who put on 'white garments'. Some were fire-worshippers, and others adorers of the sun. Some belonged to the *Sanyasi*, and others to the *Panchatapa* sects. Some worshipped *Padaranga*, some *Jnaka* and others *Nigantha*¹. The *Jainas*, who followed the *Lokayata*, or the system of atheistical philosophy taught by Chârvâka, also appear to have flourished at this time². In addition to these Gotama himself enumerates 62 sects of religious Philosophers.

My limited time, however, does not permit me to dwell upon the different doctrines of these sects³. Suffice it to say that about the sixth century before the Christian era, all shades of opinion and practices were tolerated — "The broachers of new theories and the introducers of new rites did not revile the established religion, and the adherents of the old vedic system of elemental worship looked on the new notions as speculations they could not comprehend, and the new austerities as the exercise of a self denial they could not reach, rather than as the introduction of heresy and schism." But few of these sects believed in a 'first cause,' and none acknowledged a supreme God,—therefore they differed in this respect from the Brahmans who attributed everything to the creative head of Brahmâ or Ishwara. One important point of agreement, however, between these Sectarians and the Vedic Brahmans was, that none dared to violate the Institution of Castes, which all Brahmans regarded as *sacred*. Yet amongst them there were six arch Heretics, who regarded not the distinctions which divided men into Brahmans, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, and for the simplest of all reasons, that they were themselves of mean extraction.

They preached to the people. They set forth their

¹ See Buddhist Annals in the Bengal As. Soc. Journ. for September, 1837

² Aswalâyâna Suttan in the Majjima Nikâya

³ See Ambatta Suttan

doctrines They at first resorted to the most legitimate means of conversion, viz argument and discussion But these, often, were of themselves insufficient, and availed little Something else was required, and that was supernatural powers in those who passed for religious teachers Well-versed however in deceit, they found no difficulty in invention, and in exhibiting supernatural powers In proof of inspiration, to which they laid claim, they declared doctrines unintelligible to the vulgar, and above the comprehension of the common order of society As possessing the power of *iddhi* they, like the teacher of Rasselas, often ascended an eminence to fly in the air But, unlike the Abyssinian teacher who leaped into the water, upon the strength of his wings which sustained him in the water, the Tīrtakas resorted to other frauds, which they easily practised upon a deluded population Thus they soon became established as *Arahantas*, at the head of distinct fraternities, having numerous congregations consisting of thousands of poor deluded human beings

An account of them may not prove uninteresting, and the following compiled from several writers, especially from the *Saddharmalanikhāra*, is a brief outline of

THE HISTORY OF THE SIX TĪRTAKAS

1 One was a half-caste—he was born in a nobleman's house, of a girl that was a foreigner He pretended to be a Brahman, and assumed the name of the "twice born" He called himself *Kasyapa*, and received the additional appellation of *Purna*, because his birth served to "complete" the number of one hundred slaves in his master's household For the same reason he became a favourite of his lord and enjoyed many privileges which his fellow servants were denied These acts of kindness, however, had a tendency to make him indolent and lazy, and the consequence was that his master soon put him to work, and appointed him his porter This situation deprived him of the unlimited liberty

which he had previously enjoyed, and he therefore quitted the service of his master. In the helpless state in which he roamed about the country after his desertion, he was set upon by thieves, who stripped him of everything he had, including the very clothes on his person. Having, however, escaped death, he repaired in a state of perfect nudity to the neighbouring villages, where poverty led him to practise many deceptions on the credulous, until at last he established himself as an Ascetic, proclaiming his name to be *Purna Kasyapa Buddha*. *Purna*, because (he said) he was full of all arts and sciences, *Kasyapa*, 'because he was a Brahman by birth,' and *Buddha* 'because he had overcome all desires and was an Arahāt.' He was offered clothes in abundance, but declined accepting them, thinking that as a *Digamṇi* he would be better respected. 'Clothes,' said he, 'are for the concealment of shame, *shame* is the result of sin, and *sin* I have not, since I am a person of sanctity (a *rahāt*) who is free from evil desires.' In the then state of society, distracted by religious differences, he gained followers, and they soon exceeded eighty thousand!

"His heresy consisted," says Col. Sykes, on the authority of the Chinese Buddhistical Annals, "in annihilating all laws. He admitted neither prince nor subject, neither father nor son, neither rectitude of heart nor filial piety, and he had some mystification about *void*, *vacuum*, or *ether* being paramount."

2 *Makkhalī Gosālā* was another sectarian Teacher. He was slave in a nobleman's house, and was called *Makkhalī*, after his mother, and by reason of his having been born in a *gosālā* or 'cow-house,' he received the additional appellation *gosālā*. One day he followed his master with a large pot of oil, and the latter perceiving his servant was on slippery, muddy ground, desired him to be on his guard. But not listening to his advice, he walked carelessly, and the result was that he stumbled upon a stump and fell down with his heavy load, breaking the pot of oil. Fearing that his master would punish him for his misconduct, *Gosālā* began to run away. His master soon pursued him and seized him by his

garments, but they loosening Gòsàla effected his escape, naked In this state he entered a city and passed for a *Digambara* Jama, or Buddha, and founded the sect which was named after him "He falsely believed," says Col Sykes, in the same Essay from which I have quoted above "that the good and evil of mankind did not result from previous actions, but were accidental His doctrine, therefore, was that of chance "

3 *Nigantha natha puttra* was the founder of a third Sect He was the 'son' (*puttra*) of *Nàtha*, a husbandman, and because he boasted of an acquaintance with the entire circle of the Arts and Sciences, and moreover pretended to have destroyed the *gantha*, the 'cores' or 'knots' of *keles*, he was called *Nigantha*, or *Nirgantha* He, too, laid claim to the high sanctity of an *Arahanta*, and preached doctrines, which were soon embraced by thousands He held that it was sinful to drink cold water — 'Cold water,' he said, 'was imbued with a soul Little drops of water were small souls, and large drops were large souls' He also declared that there were three *dandas* or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the body (*kàya*), of the speech (*wàk*), and of the mind (*ñāna*), were three separate causes, each acting independently of the other "His heresy consisted (says Col Sykes) in maintaining that sins and virtues and good and evil equally resulted from destiny, and that the practice of the doctrine could not save any one from his fate "

4 A fourth was the servant of a noble family Having run into debt, he fled from his creditors, and having no means of livelihood at the village to which he repaired, he became a practiser of austerities, after shaving his head, and putting on a 'mean garment made of hair,' from which circumstance he received the appellation of *Ayita kesahambala* Amongst other doctrines which distinguished him from the rest of the *Titthiyas* was that by which he invested the three kingdoms of nature with a soul He held that man and beast, and every creeping thing, and fowl of the air, as well as all trees and shrubs, had a *jīva*, or intelligent and sentient soul, endued with body, and consequently composed of parts

'The person,' said he, 'who took away the life of a being was equally guilty with the man who ate the flesh of his dead body. One who cut down a tree, or destroyed a creeper, was as guilty as a murderer. And he who broke a branch was to be regarded as one who deprived another of his limbs.' These doctrines procured for him many followers, and they soon exceeded five thousand! Col Sykes says, upon the authority already referred to, that this sectarian teacher "maintained that destiny could be forced, namely, that happiness could be obtained which did not result from a previous existence. The practice of this doctrine consisted in wearing coarse garments, tearing out the hair, exposing the nostrils to smoke, and the various parts of the body to fire, in short, subjecting the body to every kind of cruel penance on the conviction that sufferings on earth would ensure happiness hereafter."

5 *Sanjaya bellathi*, who had an awkward-looking head, was also a slave by birth. Obtaining his freedom from his master, he applied himself to study, and when he had become a great proficient in different branches of learning, he proclaimed himself a *Buddha*. He taught as a distinguishing feature in his doctrines, that man in an after-birth would be as he is now. 'In the transmigration of the soul,' he said, 'it assumed the identical bodily form which it had retained before death. There could be no change of person. Who-soever is now great or mean, a man or a *deva*, a biped, a quadruped, or a milleped without feet or hands, or with deficient members of the body, will be exactly the same in the next birth.'

According to the Chinese books from which Colonel Sykes has quoted, the heresy of this person "consisted in believing that it was not necessary to search for the doctrine in the sacred book, but that it would come spontaneously when the ages of births and deaths had been passed through. He also believed that after 80,000 Kalpas the doctrine was obtained without effort."

6 *Kakudha Katyayana* was a foundling—the offspring of an illicit intercourse. His mother, who was a poor low caste

person, had no house to live in, and was delivered of him under a *Kakudha* (Pentaptura Arjuna, Rox) tree, where she left him. A Brahman who picked him up, from thence adopted him as his son, and named him *Katyayana*, with the prefix of *Kakudha*, because he was found under a tree of that name. Upon the death, however, of his adopted father, *Katyayana* found himself in difficult circumstances, and resorted to different means and ways of procuring a livelihood—all of which failing, he became an Ascetic, and established himself on a large mound of earth, where he preached his austerities as a teacher of high sanctity. Like Niganthana-putta, *Katyayana* also declared that cold water was imbued with a soul. His heresy, according to the Chinese legends, consisted in asserting that some of the laws were appreciable by the senses, and some not.

Whilst such doctrines gained an immense number of followers, whilst the world was resounding with the noise of the philosophy of the Gymnosophists, whilst Society was greatly divided by the dissensions of religionists,—when many causes predisposed the public mind to a change, when, “through the indolence of the Brahmans, the Vedas and their accompaniments had been neglected,”¹ and when ‘many people walked about in the world saying *I am Buddha*, *I am Buddha*, thus assuming the name of the great,’² the son of a powerful monarch that reigned at Kapilavastu, on the borders of Nepal, started as a *Buddha*, announcing himself as ‘the true Jaina,’ ‘the teacher of the three worlds,’—‘wiser than the wisest,’ and ‘higher than the highest,’ and proclaiming the doctrine of VIRTUE, which soon won its way to the hearts of a people ‘whose inclinations had already been imbued with admiration of this quality in their own ancient system.’

It has already been stated that he was a prince. That he received an education more than suited to his princely rank

¹ *Buddhavausa*.

² *Imasmīn lōke ahaṇ Buddhō ahaṇ Buddhō ti uggaṭṭasa nāmaṇ gaheṭvā bahu janā vicāraṇṭi* — *Comment to the Mayyana Nīkaya*.

appears clearly enough from the abstruse doctrines of his Philosophy From his discourses,¹ which relate to the *Vedas* and *Vedanga*, he was doubtless well versed in Brahmanical lore The "sixty-four alphabets" which he mastered, according to the *Lahta Vistara* (a book of no authority), may be more imaginary than real Yet that he learnt most of the Arts and Sciences usually cultivated amongst the Indians may be believed The Buddhavansa refers to his other accomplishments, and in the usual phraseology of Oriental exaggeration, he is said to have excelled a Samson in strength Many of his feats in archery are detailed "in proof of his accomplishments in martial deeds" They were exhibited to prove his right to the hands of "the daughters of the proud Sakya tribes"²

The period that he passed as a *linc* was indeed short Yet in that short period of 29 years he had enjoyed life to his heart's content Revelling in the luxuries of the State, surrounded by a host of damsels, and attended by his bands of female musicians, he dwelt in the three 'palaces adapted for the three seasons' The *Ramma* of nine stories he occupied during one, the *Surama* of seven at another, and the *Subha* of five at a third³

A mind, however, constituted such as Siddharta's was, soon became satiated The sharp edge of enjoyment had been speedily blunted The zest of carnal pleasures had gradually subsided He had not been long a father before he became disgusted with life The form of a decrepit old man, bent with age and emaciated by disease, informed him of his own future condition The lifeless body of one who had previously moved like himself, reminded him of the uncertainty of life, and of his own approaching dissolution When he was pondering on these things, and the Brahmanical Golden rule—that "religious austerity was the summit of excellence,"⁴ and the figure of an Ascetic had arrested his gaze,—his mind was at once made up to renounce the world,

¹ See Ambatta Suttan, etc

² Buddhavansa

³ Idem

⁴ Dhammapada—Buddha-Vagga

its vanities, and its troubles He preferred seclusion to the ceaseless pleasures of Society, and the yellow garment of a mendicant to the purple robes of state In his estimation 'Heaven was superior to a Universal Empire, and the results of a *Sotapatti* to the dignities of the Universe'¹

Whilst, therefore, "his female bands were playing airs on musical instruments"—whilst "the beauties of the Sākya tribes were yet hymning forth the canticles of triumph and gratulation"—amidst all the enjoyments of life and the Oriental sports of the Park,—when, too, the national festivities of the City were in the thick, and when his beloved wife had been just delivered of a son—*Siddhārtha* departed!² He fled as from a pursuing enemy He escaped as from a huge boa ready to devour him. He fled and embraced Ascetism He became *Buddha*, and after six years of seclusion, established his religion, which is called his *Dhamma*, or, as we name it, *Buddhism*

Whilst other Teachers declared 'religious austerity to be the height of excellence,' Buddha taught it to consist in "Nibban" He set aside animal sacrifices He held that no penance effaced sin In his opinion the worship of the Gods and Manes availed nothing With the exception of these and a few other matters, however, the Philosophy which Gotama taught was not altogether new It agreed in most essential matters with that of the Brahmans The Ecclesiastical discipline of the one was equally that of the other—and the sameness of doctrine Gôtama traces to a piracy by the Brahmans of the doctrines of his predecessor Kassapa, and not to a *plagiarism* by himself of Brahmanical doctrines³

Be this, however, as it might, the very doctrines of Gôtama proclaim the non-existence of *dhamma* before his advent In the *abuddhot* period which preceded his manifestation the *dhamma* had vanished The agreement, therefore, between his doctrines and those of the Brahamans (if we, as we must,

¹ Dhammapadam *end of Loka Vagga*.

³ See Ambatta Sutra

² Buddhavansa

divest him of the Inspiration to which he lays claim), leads to the irresistible conclusion that (in the language of Hodgson) Buddhism "arose out of those prior abominations which had long held the people of India in cruel vassalage to a bloated priesthood"

It is, indeed, not a little remarkable that the religion which had thus sprung out of Brahmanism soon out-numbered its parent. Some of the causes which led to this result demand attention. At first, doubtless, the different motives which influenced conversions were those common to all countries and all nations. "They were (as remarked by Gibbon) often capricious and accidental. A dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and above all, the fortunate event of a prayer or vow,"¹ served to create a deep and lasting impression. The Buddhist annals represent Brahmins as being "indolent" at this time,² and we also perceive that the public mind was predisposed to a change. The character, too, of the individual who preached the new doctrine was not without its influence. Gôtama was a *prince*. He was descended from the renowned Sâkya tribe. He was the son of a king. He had left the luxuries of a principality for the privations of mendicancy. He had deserted the throne of a king for the pulpit of a monk. Nay, more, he had renounced the world to accomplish the salvation of men. He was humble in his deportment. He was pious in his conduct. His admonitions came with the authority of a prince, the affection of a parent, and the sincerity of a friend. Such a person was rare—such conduct uncommon. It soon attracted attention. It was not only perceptible to the mind, it was also seen with the eye, people heard of it with their ears. It, therefore, served to them as an "*outward sign*" It was indeed, a 'visible power'. It inspired them with confidence. It had a *powerful influence*.

The example of princes and nobles may also be mentioned

¹ Gibbon, VI p 272

² Sumangala Vilâsini

It had its due weight—*Yatà rayà tata prayàh* 'As is the King, so are the subjects'¹ This is the case in all countries, but peculiarly so with the people of the East. At the first dawn of Buddhism they had, as they still have, much in common with children. Like children they clung to their parental kings. Like children they listened to their parental advice. Above all they imitated their example, and embraced Buddhism. Other causes conspired to accelerate conversions. In the infancy of the Buddhist Church, its founder was not scrupulous as to admissions into the priesthood. He permitted the branded thief as well as 'the proclaimed criminal' to enter it². He drew no distinction between the male and the female. He gave admission to the boy as well as the adult. He did not insist upon the consent of parents. The slave found a retreat in the seclusion of a monastery. Those who had been affected with infectious diseases were associated with the healthy priests. The priesthood became the refuge of those who had been pursued by the fury of creditors. The enlisted soldier deserted the service of his country and entered the *Panna Sāta*. It was, however, not till large numbers had embraced the new faith, thousands had entered the priesthood, and there was therefore not the same necessity for unlimited liberality in Ecclesiastical matters, that Gôtama laid down various restrictions. It was then, and not before, that inquiry was made as to any incurable disease of the candidate for Holy Orders. It was then, and not before, that regard was had to his being 'a free man' and 'free from debt'. It was then, too, that he was required to show that he was 'not enlisted as a soldier,' and that 'he had his parents' permission to become a recluse'³.

Amongst other causes, *Religious Toleration*, by which the Government of Buddhist Monarchs was distinguished, was not without its salutary effect on the spread of the new religion. That, when Buddhism arose, and kings and princes had enlisted their sympathies in its cause, the pre existing

¹ Old Pali Proverb² Mahā Vagga³ The Laws of the Priesthood

Brahmans and Sectarrians were not persecuted, is a fact Every one was allowed the free choice of a creed No one lost a single state privilege, no one was deprived of his caste, and no one was subjected to any degradation by reason of the faith he preferred Indeed, no form of faith was made *the Established Religion* Notwithstanding the predominance of Buddhism, the Brahmans, too, enjoyed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion It was left unmolested Its forms of worship were not reproached Its professors were not reviled They were not hindered in the exercise of their rites Even the noisy and turbulent ceremonials of their Church received not the impediments created by the modern Police Regulations of far more liberal Governments This was not all Though Buddhism became 'the State religion,' yet the services of the Brahmans were not less in requisition than before They were not excluded from their wonted avocations They lost not their civil or political power They still continued the *Prohita*¹ Ministers of the Sovereign They performed the greatest of all state ceremonies—the Consecration of Kings They presided over all the various universities of the Empire They were the *raja gurus* of the kingdom,—the most learned physicians of the people, and the Astrological or Astronomical Professors of the state They received the same respect which was shown to the Buddhist priests The people were enjoined to 'bestow gifts on Brahmans as well as on Sramanas' The Rocks of Gurnar, Dhal, and Kapurdigiri proclaim to this day the *religious toleration* of Piyadâsi, the most powerful and zealous of all Buddhist monarchs

I have elsewhere expressed a conjecture as to the time when this state of things ceased I shall now proceed with the subject, and with another cause for the wide extension of Buddhism—the *popularity of its doctrines*

'Universal Equality' is a feeling inherent in the human mind The first approach to a breach of this heavenly right,

¹ The domestic Chaplain, who was also a minister of state

the slightest deviation from it, socially or politically, creates a feeling of uneasiness and even envy. No jealousy is more deep rooted or more inveterate than that which is occasioned by the deprivation of one's natural right in this respect. The feeling of the Indian classes, who were at this time bound hand and foot by a horrid system of caste by Brahmanical exclusiveness, may be easily conceived. All felt the deep degradation of their position, except the highest class of the highest caste. All, except that class, eagerly looked for emancipation. All, therefore, except that class, hailed with no ordinary feelings of pleasure the doctrine of *Universal Equality* which Gotama preached. All with that single exception at first regarded the preacher as a benefactor, and his doctrine with admiration. But when those doctrines had been actually reduced to practice, when they saw the Kshetriya princes associated with Brahman converts—the Vaisya traders with the *Sudra* outcasts, and that all were placed upon the same level, subject to the same laws and in the enjoyment of the same privileges, the people received their benefactor with love, and made him an object of superstitious admiration. No wonder, then, that his religion was soon embraced by millions.

The last, though not the least cause which led to *conversions* was the mildness of Gôtama's *dhamma*, and this leads to the second head of my discourse.

II —THE DOCTRINES OF BUDDHISM

But before I proceed to give you a popular account of them, permit me to say a few words against a commonly received error—that Buddhism sanctions *Idol worship*. It is, indeed, remarkable that no religion in the world, that we are aware of, originated in the worship of idols. The Greeks, it is believed, at first worshipped 'an invisible God'. The ancient Persians 'thought it impious to exhibit the Creator under a human form'¹. The Jews originally had "no other Gods" but Jehovah, whom they were interdicted from repre-

senting by "any graven image, or the likeness of any thing" The primary doctrine of Brahmanism was "the unity of God," "whom they worshipped without a symbol" Buddhism, too, gave no sanction to idol worship Its introduction was long after the death of Gôtama In all countries, and amongst all nations, it originated from a desire to transfer from the mental to the natural eyes the sight of the object of adoration

Man wants more than *abstraction* He understands not mere verbiage, without an image to represent the idea conveyed by language He desires (in the language of Mahindu) 'to have an object whom he could salute, before whom he could prostrate himself, at whose presence he could rise, and to whom he could pay reverent attention'

It is in the very nature of man to long for a leader, and to set up a chief The more ignorant the community, the greater is the desire manifested in this respect As a child lives in the trust of that security which parental protection affords, so does the ignorant man look for the prop and support of a *leader* Hence, the *monarchical* is the form of government which meets with general approbation The author of our being saw this, when He promised "to dwell among the children of Israel," and "went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire," and when, too, He promised His presence "whenever two or three meet in His name" This inherent feeling of dependence on a higher being is evidenced by the fact that the Israelites, treated as they were by the Almighty, could not bear the prolonged absence of their leader, and longed for "gods which should go before them" In our own Island, after the Singhalese had deposed their King, and Ceylon had been placed under the Sovereign of England, whom they never saw, their uneasiness was great indeed They wanted some one to be their leader, and a small section of misguided Kandians set up a *thief* as their king¹ They preferred a

¹ See Blue Books of Ceylon for 1850

vagabond whom *they saw*, to the Queen of England, or her representative, whom *they had never seen*. This feeling is, however, not confined to the State. It equally extends to the *Church*. The human mind yearns after some "visible and tangible object of worship". It loves to retain some relic of those whom it adores. As a mother would often retain a lock of hair of a deceased child, or a lover preserve as a token of remembrance some little trinket of her who inspired him with love, so the votaries of deities, the enthusiastic followers of religious teachers, upon the reflection that the object of their worship was no more and could not be seen, have "substituted *visible* for *invisible* objects". Thus the Greeks created innumerable gods and goddesses. The Persians transferred their worship from 'the supreme mind' to the 'lamp of day'. The Brahmans have formed 330,000,000¹ deities, around whom they could burn incense. The Jews 'fell down and worshipped a molten calf'. Even into the churches of Jehovah the 'jealous God,' did His followers introduce idols of the Virgin Mother, and the representatives of Saints. Nor were the Buddhists an exception to the rule. Upon the death of the Sage, his followers preserved his bones and teeth. This they did at first from no other feeling than that which is common in the human breast—*chittan pasadessanti*—'to cause the mind to be composed'². All Buddhist countries vied with each other in the collection of the Relics. A lock of his hair and his *gwatta*³ were enshrined at Mahiyangana. Asôka built 84,000 monuments embodying the sacred relics. It was these that Mahindo characterized as *Buddha* himself, when he said, Mahâ râjâ, our divine teacher has long been out of our sight, for, said he, 'whenever his sacred relics are seen our vanquisher himself is seen'⁴. What was seen with the eye was the better fixed in the mind. The outward and visible signs were tokens of an inward and intellectual idea of the object of adoration.

¹ Elphinstone's India, I p 165

³ Collar bone

² Dîpâvansa

⁴ Mahavansa

But Buddhism does not recognize Image-worship. Although the Chinese and Ceylon Buddhists have a legend to the effect that whilst Gôtama was alive, a *Pilime* statue of that Sage was made by the orders of the King of Kôsala, and although the Tibetan annals speak of Gôtama having expatiated upon the advantages arising from laying up his image,¹ and although *Dûya Aradana* of the Nîpal collection gives a story as to Gôtama's having recommended Bumbi Sara to send a portrait of the Sage to Rudrayâna, King of Rôruka,² yet all this is regarded by the intelligent portion of the Buddhists in Ceylon as unfounded on fact, and therefore an invention of later times. A careful examination of Buddhist doctrines furnishes us with no authority at all for image worship, all that Gôtama left behind, as a substitute for himself after death, being his own doctrines *the dhamma*. His words were, 'Anando, let the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, which have been propounded to and impressed on thee by me, stand after my demise in the place of thy Teacher.'³ Yet the prevalence of image worship is great indeed in Buddhistical countries. When it was first introduced among the Buddhists of India and Ceylon does not clearly appear, but from the conduct of Asôka, who recognizes nothing of the kind in his Pillar Inscriptions, we may conclude that image worship was an innovation introduced at a period later than the date of the Inscriptions. The earliest mention of images in Ceylon is in the Mihintalî Inscription of 241 A D, which speaks of "image houses". Two hundred years afterwards, 410 A D, Fa Hian saw "an image of blue Jasper in the Temple at Anurâdhapura". There is, however, much reason to believe that the images which were introduced into the Buddhist temples had not been originally intended for *worship*, any more than the statues of kings which were anciently placed side by side with the idols of Buddha and the devas. Speaking of these statues, says Colonel Forbes,

¹ As Res, xx p 476

² Life in Ancient India, p 272

³ Sumangala Vilasini, See B J vol. vi p 512

'In the Mahâ raja Vihâra there are upwards of fifty figures of Buddha, most of them larger than life, also a statue of each of the devas, Saman, Vishnu, Nâta, and the devî Pattanî, and of two kings Valanganbahu and Kintî Nisanga'

The period, then, at which the pre-existing idols became objects of worship was probably the time when Brahmanical rites became blended with those of the Buddhist Church—when she came to recognize the *Samyak Drishti* gods of the Hindu Pantheon—when she built temples for the worship of Vishnu—when she built an idol of him whom she considered "a supporting deity" of Gôtama—and when she commenced to make offerings to his idol, which stood alongside of Buddha

As idol worship is conducted in honour of Buddha, and upon the supposition that it confers *spiritual* benefit, so likewise his doctrines are recited for the same end, and with a view also to avert *temporal* dangers. But there is no more authority for the last than for the first. The *Pârîtta*, or the use of *exorcism*, is frequently resorted to, as a protection against apprehended danger from disease, or demoniac influences, but upon a careful examination of the discourses of Gôtama, it would seem to have been only *assented* to, but not enjoined, as a means for placating the demons. That is to say, although the study and frequent repetition of his discourses were recommended in place of himself 'as the *teacher*,' yet it does not appear that Gôtama believed any *temporal* benefit could be achieved by "exorcism," beyond imparting religious consolation. And the extent to which it was authorized may be gathered from the *Parîtta* ceremony itself. When Gôtama was dwelling on *Gyyakuta*, and Wessavana, the king of the Yakkhas, once called on the Sage, the former, in course of conversation, alluded to the aversion of the *Yakkha* races to Paddha. The cause of it is stated to have been the inhibition of Buddha against their own 'mal-practices, such as life-slaughter, theft, lewanness, lying, and drunkenness'. From this aversion, which in savage tribes was tantamount to *hatred*, the followers of Gotama, as well as

the jungle Ascetic, suffered in various ways Wesavanna, the king of the Yakkhas, who was an admirer of the Sage, was therefore desirous of averting these dangers from his own subjects. He wished to protect and defend the priests in their 'solitary retirements, free from noise and clamour.' He was anxious to keep them from harm's ways. He purposed to introduce peace into their cells. To effect all this it was necessary 'to placate the demons,' and this, again, could only be effected by an authoritative edict of his own. That edict is contained in the *Atanatiya*. It commenced with the virtues of Gotama's predecessors. It alluded to Gôtama's own beneficence. It recounted the honours and worship which he had exacted from devas and men, and from Wesavanna himself. It enjoined the priest to learn and recite the hymns in which the above was recited. It declared the privileges of those who used it. It enjoined the demons "not even to approach with an evil design" a person who had recited the *Paritta*. It imposed a penalty for a breach of this command. The law of the king was thus made perfectly binding on his subjects. It was delivered, and Gôtama "consented to it by his silence."

This, it is apprehended, was the origin of the *Paritta* ceremony. To the *Atanatiya* have, however, been added, in course of time, various other discourses of Buddha, which had the tendency to restore peace and quiet to the sufferers, and to give "religious consolations" to the diseased. This appears from the discourses themselves, which contain no declaration of any 'temporal benefit.' Take the *Kassapa Bopphanga* as an example. Kassapa was grievously ill, and Gotama visited him in his cave, and found him 'without ease and repose.' The Sage preached on *contemplation, ascertainment of the truth, perseverance, contentment, placidity, tranquillity, and equanimity*. And these 'seven sections of moral science' he recited, not as a direct antidote against the ills of the flesh, but as a palliative to the sufferings of the mind, and as a *sine qua non* 'for the attainment of knowledge, wisdom, and deliverance from transmigration.' The patient recovered, but it is not stated he did so by the direct in-

fluence of the admonition. Such are the discourses added to *Atánatiya*, which form the *Hymns* usually sung to "the praise and glory" of *Buddha*, and to secure a deliverance from temporal ailments. Connected with the subject in hand, a few words on the origin of *Chètēyas* or *Thupas* may not be uninteresting —

The *Parimibban Suttan* states that they "originated" upon the death of Gôtama, when "eight *Thupas* were built over the corporeal relics, a ninth over the *Kumbhan*, and a tenth over the charcoal of his funeral pile"¹ And it would seem from the same *Suttan* that *Chètēyāni* existed in several parts of the *Magghima desa* even during the lifetime of Gôtama. The *Atthakathā* explains that the *Chètēyāni* were not "Buddhistical shrines," but *Yakkhattānāni* 'erections for demon worship.' That they partook of the nature of both *Temple* and *Thupa* may be inferred from the fact that whilst they were monuments of worship, they served also as rest-houses for the weary traveller. Gôtama himself repaired to the *Chēpala Cheteya* for rest, and he there expatiated on its splendour as well as that of many others² It was, doubtless, from a contemplation of the busy throng of religious Enthusiasts who crowded these monuments of worship, that Gôtama gave his sanction for the erection of the *thupas* over his own relics, and those of his disciples. Yet from the fact of "Universal Monarchs" being placed in the same category with *Buddha* and his *Sāvakas*, it would seem that the sage had no other object save that which we have for building places for divine worship—to make men religious.

Gôtama's words were—*Tattha yē mālan vā gandhan vā vannakan vā ārōpessanti abhivādessanti vā chittan vā pasādessanti tesān tan bhavissati digha-rattan hitāya sukhāya Ayan tassa Bhagavato arahatō sammā sambuddhassa thūpō —ti Ananda bahujano chittan pasadenti tē tattha chittan pasādetvā kāyassa bhēdā param maranā sugatim, saggan lōkan uppajjanti—M P S v 26, 27*

'If in respect of *thupas* any should set up flowers, scents,

¹ See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Suttas,' p 135

² *ibid* p 40

or embellishments, or should worship (them), or should (by such means) cause their minds to be *purified*,¹ such acts will conduce to their well-being and happiness. Ananda, many thinking "that this is *thupa* of the adorable, the sanctified, the omniscient, supreme Buddha," compose their minds, and when they have caused their minds to be *cleansed*, they, upon the dissolution of the body after death, are born in a glorious heavenly world'

I now return to the doctrines of Buddhism, or the religion of Gôtama. It is defined by himself to mean "the path of immortality"². It acknowledges man's sinful nature—represents him as altogether sinful, and his heart 'deceitful' and 'desperately wicked'. It enjoins the necessity of regeneration, of subjugating the evil passions, and a thorough change of the heart. It says in plain words, that neither extraction from the noblest of progenitors, nor the influence of education, will secure him salvation. It admonishes him to abstain from covetousness. It warns him against "the cares of life," to the neglect of religion, against pride and "self-righteousness, which make a god of himself,"³ and against evil-speaking, lying, slandering, and unprofitable conversation. It inculcates all the virtues which ennoble the soul: patience, forbearance, forgiveness, charity, chastity, humility, gratitude, obedience, etc., etc. And these it sums up in one Golden rule which it enacts, 'Reverence to Parents, Charity to the Poor, Humanity to Animals, and Love towards all Mankind'.

Whilst we are thus enabled to hold up some of its doctrines to the admiration of the world, it must, however, be borne in mind that the religion which has "immortality" for its end, seeks not the eternal joys of heaven, but the immolation of life,—the cessation from existence as "no good equal to it"—and the extinction of being as "the best thing,"⁴ and that the observance of religion or *brahmacha-*

¹ *Pasadesanti*, 'cause to be purified or cleansed,' or to 'bring about a religious turn of mind.'

² *Dhammapada*—*Appamāda Vagga*, § 1

³ See *Attanagalu Vansa*, Pali Version

⁴ *Dhammapada*, *Sukha Vagga*.

*riyā*¹ is not "perfect freedom," but a life of asceticism, fettered by restraints of no ordinary hardship. Buddhism, indeed, ignores what we call the "soul." It denies the existence of a *creator*. It knows of no being who may be called *Almighty*. According to its teachings, all the elements of existence are dissolved at death, and yet life transmigrates.² The greatest happiness is therefore devised to be *Nirvāna*.

Upon each of these points I purpose to say a few words, and

1 Buddhism denies anything like the Brahman *ātman*, or own-self, or *paramātman*, 'eternal-self,' or what we call 'the soul.' It forbids us to say "*I am*," or "this is *I*." Man is composed of five *khandas*—'organized body,' 'sensation,' 'perception,' 'discrimination' (including all the powers of reasoning), and 'consciousness.' And it cannot be predicated of any of these, or of their attributes the 12 *āyatana*, which are 'the eye and the objects of sight, the ear and sound, nose and smell, the tongue and flavour, the body and touch,' 'mind or power of thought' and 'objects of thought'²—that they constitute 'ego.' Of each of the above, Gôtama teaches—'*I am not this*'—'*this is not my soul*'—*na m'eso attā*—'This is not a soul to me.' It is a nonentity. His words are "Priests, it should be distinctly known as a fact, that the *rūpa* or perceptible body is transient,—that that which is impermanent is (full of) sorrow—that that which is sorrow is not the (*self*) soul, that any thing which is not the *self* is 'not mine.' 'It is not *ego*'—'*it is not my soul*'³. It is simply 'existence' or life."

2 Life, according to Buddhism, had no intelligent Creator. It was the result of chance—not of design. It was the consequence of *Kamma*, 'good or evil merit,' produced by *avidyā* or 'ignorance'.⁴ Here the creator is not an active agent. He represents nothing corporeal or spiritual. It is an abstract

¹ See Mahavagga.

² See the Rev. D. J. Gogerly's Translation in the "Friend," vol. II p. 87, *et seq*.

³ *It*.

⁴ "Ceylon Friend," April, 1830.

quality, without itself a cause or Creator. One abstraction produces another abstraction. The last, a third, and so on—until we have 'life,' this form of human existence. Gôtama himself, according to a beautiful figure of speech in the Institutes of *Manu*,¹ compares man to a 'mansion,' and designates 'the first cause' by the name of *gaha-karaka*,² or 'house-builder.' But he exults with joy that the creature has risen above the Creator, and that the architect had no longer the power to build for him another house! The creature is thus not responsible to the "First cause," which lays down no laws for his guidance, and is unable to do anything either for good or for evil. The Creator, as we have seen, does not control life's existence. Indeed, he bears no more relation to man than the leaf does to the butterfly which leaves it after various changes. The creature, therefore, is the *Lord* over his own life. It was in accordance with such doctrines that Sirisangabô, one of our ancient monarchs, exclaimed in offering his head as a propitiation, 'I am the Lord over my own body!'³

3 Thus, there is no Supreme being who may be called *Almighty*. True it is that Gôtama is styled 'the greatest of all beings,' but his own conduct and doctrines show that he was not omnipotent.

It is stated in the *Parinibbana Suttan* of the Buddhistical

¹ Institutes, cap. vi. §§ 76, 77

² 'Through transmigrations of numerous births have I run, not discovering, (though) seeking the house builder birth again and again [is] sorrow. O house builder! thou art seen. Thou shalt not again build a house [for me]. All thy ribs are broken [by me]. The apex of the house is destroyed. [My] mind is inclined to nibbana. [It] has arrived at the extinction of desire.'

Note—It may be remarked that *anekajâtî sansâran*, which is in the accusative, should be treated as a noun in the vocative, owing to its connection with an intransitive verb. *Sandhivissan*, 'I will run, is in the *bhavisanti* or future tense, and not conditional. Owing, however, to a Rule by which the future takes an *ayatanî* or a past signification [see Pânni, iii. 2, 112, also Ballantyne's *Laghu kaumudi*, p. 314, No. 799], both Mr. Turner and Mr. Hardy have correctly rendered this into the *ayatanî*, in which sense the Commentator interprets it, *sansâran* or *apara paran anuvicharin*. 'My mind is inclined to nibbana is, as I conceive, the nearest meaning which can be assigned to the words, the mind has attained [to the knowledge of] destruction.' See Mr. Fausbøll's remarks on these difficult verses in his *Dhamma padan*, p. 320, and the text at p. 28 of the same work.

³ *Saka sarirassa ahamêva—Attanagaluvansa.*

annals that a being like *Buddha* who had attained to the sanctification of the four *iddhipada*, may live any period of time, even a *kappa*, if he should desire it. But I need not tell you that this is a myth. When in "fourscore years" Gôtama's age had "attained the *fullest maturity*," and death stared him in the face, he was importuned by *Ananda*, his favourite disciple, "Lord Bagawa, vouchsafe to live a *kappa*"¹

This was, however, an impossibility. Gôtama knew this, and it is, indeed, melancholy to observe the quibble to which he resorts. He answers "Afflict me not with unavailing importunity." *Ananda* could not believe his own senses, for what he had now heard militated against his master's doctrines of a previous day, and the former in language of remonstrance addressed Gôtama "Lord, *from thyself* have I heard, and *by thyself* have I been taught, that to whomsoever is vouchsafed the sanctification of the four *iddhipada*, he may live a *kappa*, and *to thee*, Tathâgato, is vouchsafed that great power."

The Sage could not fail to perceive the force of *Ananda's* speech, not to call it *accusation*. He was driven to the necessity of making a reply, and he had no alternative but to resort to the paltry quibble of preferring a counter-charge against his accuser—viz that 'he had failed in *his* duty to make the request when the announcement of Gôtama's approaching dissolution was *originally* made'. What signified that he was late? If it was a proper request, and he had the power to grant it, the *time* at which it was made was of no consequence, and could by no means affect the granting of the application.

But, according to the very doctrines of Buddhism, not only is it not true that a timely application from *Ananda* would have enabled him to prolong his life even to the extent of a *kappa*, but it is also not true that any being had the power to do so. Buddhism recognizes *predestination*, and it is made to appear in the *Parimibban Suttan* that 'the ap-

¹ *Parimibban Suttan*.

proaching dissolution of Gôtama being irrevocably fixed, Mâra prevented Ananda from preferring his request' Now, predestination is inconsistent with the almighty power here laid claim to. Predestination pre-supposes the absence of power. It takes away volition. It restricts action. It circumscribes power. It renders "importunity unavailing." "Gôtama's appointed time had come." He himself had declared it at the close of his probational meditation. He himself had stated that at the particular period of his manifestation, 'the term human existence was one hundred years,' and that it appeared to be the proper age for his advent.¹ He could not, therefore, add a minute to his term of existence. For, he was not Almighty.

This was so plain and clear, that the bigotted advocates of Buddhism have given up the line of defence adopted by the Sage himself, and have resorted to a still more miserable quibble of supporting his statement upon verbal grounds. Both Nâgasena in the *Milindappanna*, and Moggalliputta Tissa, the holder of the last convocation, in one of his *Vadas*, states, that when Gôtama declared the power of one who had attained the four *iddhipada* to live a *kappa*, or any part of a *kappa*, he only meant, in the ordinary acceptation of "*kappa*,"—"the ordinary age of man, which was 100 years." It is, indeed, true that *kappa* means "age," or "the period of existence."² But this is not its only meaning. Nor is this its ordinary acceptation. It also means an immense period of time during which the world itself lasts in each of its regenerations. Now, every one except an idiot, Nâgasena, and Moggalliputta Tissa, could perceive at a glance that Gôtama, in stating the superior power of one who had attained the four *iddhipâda*, did not refer to the inherent quality of humanity, the ordinary age of man, but alluded to what ordinarily man did not possess—a power to *prolong* life to the extent of a *kappa*. If, therefore, this meant "any period of time within the age usually allotted to men"—which, however, Ananda himself clearly ignores by his reiterated appli-

¹ Buddhavansa² Gogerly Wilson and Spiers

cation, and Gôtama as clearly by his reply—that Sage laid down an absurdity. He declared what every idiot knew. He pronounced that, to be the reward of a particular kind of sanctity, which was simply an inherent quality of every man, however sinful. If, again, such was the meaning which Gôtama intended to convey, nothing could have been easier than to silence Ananda at once. For, at the time he importuned Gôtama to live a kappa or half of a kappa, Gôtama had, in point of fact, lived a much longer period than half of man's age.

4 From this digression I return to the subject, and to the *Ontology* of Buddhism. Although hells without number have, without a Creator, sprung up for the punishment of the wicked, yet it is not the sinner who is punished in them. Although Buddha has often declared his own identity with certain characters in the *Jâtakas*,¹ yet all this is not supported by his doctrines. According to those doctrines, the *nama* and *rupa* which constitute this life are not identical with the *nama* and *rupa* of the life hereafter.² One being therefore suffers for another. One's sins are visited upon another. The sinner and the sufferer are not therefore identical. 'If there is a dissolution of all the elements of existence at death, it follows that there is no hereafter, and no future world to that existence.'³

5 Yet the doctrine of Buddhism is, that life transmigrates, and that everything changes constantly from man to beast, from beast to fowl, and from fowl to creeping things. There is therefore an eternal cycle of existence. The law of merits and demerits alone causes the degree of happiness or misery of all beings. This also is full of uncertainty. Though merits are said to be more powerful than demerits, and however abundantly a being may perform meritorious

¹ e.g. At the close of *Appanaka Jataka*, Buddha says — "The former un-wise merchant and his company are the present *Dêvadatta* and his disciples, and I was then the wise merchant."

² *Mihindappanna*

³ Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 396

deeds, yet upon his worldly dissolution he can have no hope of happiness in an after-birth, for the demerits of a former existence might outweigh the good deeds of this life. He dies, therefore, "without hope," and, as we have already said, "without God."

Now, as already remarked, no religion has worked so great a revolution—no creed has had so many votaries—no faith has lasted so long a period, as Buddhism. Yet no religion is calculated to create a greater despondency in the human mind than Buddhism. Like the religion of the Christian, Buddhism may, perhaps, be "the bond of charity," "the curb of evil passions," "the teacher of morality," but, decidedly, it is *not* "the consolation of the wretched," the support of the timid," and "the hope of the dying." There is nothing in it to cheer "the weary and the heavy-laden." There is nothing to give a hope to the guilty. There is nothing to encourage the penitent sinner. No encouraging words, such as "Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out," are to be found in the Pitakattaya. No promise of forgiveness gives the Buddhist a hope of salvation. No "knock, and it shall be opened" welcome greets his ear. On the contrary, everything in the Buddhist Bible is calculated to alarm him. This in the language of Buddhism is indeed a state of things "full of evil, misery, and pain." Yes,—to one who has no notion of an eternal existence hereafter—to whom God hath not revealed by His Holy Spirit the unspeakable joys of heaven, *Life* is a dreary waste, existence is devoid of those fascinations which the Christian alone feels, and heaven is not a place of "rest," but a temporary habitation of enjoyment. In vain, therefore, are the efforts of a Missionary of the Cross to win the souls of the Buddhists by presenting before him scenes of heavenly bliss. Talk to him of 'that holy calm'—'that sweet repose'—'the Cherubim and the Seraphim that continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth'—of the throngs of lovely angels, who bow "towards either throne"—'with a shout

Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest voices, uttering joy'

Speak to him of 'Crowns of glory' 'inwove with amarant and gold'—of 'the hallelujahs of the glorified'—'the troops of sister spirits arrayed in the purest white'—of 'the ceaseless songs of sweet music' Set before him in the most glowing language of poetry 'the palms of conquest'—'the beatific vision' and 'beatitude past utterance' Picture to his mind's eye 'the sense of new joy ineffable diffused—love without end, and without measure grace'—'the near communion with God,' and the 'bright effluence of bright essence increate'—all appear to him infected with blemish, imperfection, and impermanence—all appears to him "foolishness," aye, "the baseless fabric of a vision which leaves no wrack behind!" All *heavenly* to him is all what *earthly* is to the inspired Preacher, "vanity and vexation of spirit"—and why? Simply because *Heaven* to the Buddhist is not what it is to the Christian—

'The end of care, the end of pains'

Existence in the eye of Buddhism is nothing but misery It is connected with disease, decay, and death It is subject to 'grief, wailing, pain, anguish, despair, and disappointment' It resembles a blazing fire which dazzles the eye, but torments us by its effects There is nothing real or permanent in the whole universe "Everything perishes"

6 Nothing then remained to be devised as a deliverance from this evil but the destruction of existence itself This is what the Buddhists call *Nirwana*

So far as I can understand this abstruse doctrine, it is not Absorption Viewed in every light in which the subject may be considered, and tested by all the definitions and arguments contained in the Canonical works on Buddhism, *Nibban* is (to use an expression of Professor Max Muller) *Nihilism*, the annihilation of existence, the same as the extinction of fire That such is the fact appears also from the *pragna paramita*, and the Metaphysics of Kasyapa It is, moreover, proved by the very nicknames which the Brahmans apply to their Buddhist opponents, viz *Nastikas*—'those who maintain destruction or nihilism,' and *Sunyaradins*—'those who maintain that there is a universal void'

A difference of opinion exists,¹ and that difference has arisen from the mode of teaching adopted by Buddhists, and the figures of speech contained in Buddhist works. As "nothing" or *Nihilism* is said to be a paradise or *immortality*, and he who denies a deity is himself deified,—*Nibban*, which has no locality, is compared to a "City." From a belief that the subject is not easily comprehended, it is said 'none could *perceive* it except a sanctified *Arahanta*' When people denied the truth of this doctrine, it was necessary to make a strong affirmation to the effect that '*Nirvana* is.' These are, indeed, expressions which, without being retracted or explained, compelled even *Nagasena* to declare 'the doctrine of *Nibban* was beyond all computation a *mystery*'

Such briefly are the most important of the doctrines of Buddhism. And we shall now turn to the remaining point of inquiry —

III — WHAT ARE ITS PROSPECTS ?

There are, indeed, good grounds for believing that Buddhism will, at no very distant period, disappear from this Island. There is, moreover, a hope for Ceylon, which, alas ! we have not for India. The two countries are, in this respect, at least, differently circumstanced, and the difference is too wide to expect for both the same results from missionary labours, or to predict the same period of time for their conversion to Christianity. The hope for Ceylon arises from various considerations, and we shall here notice the influence of Caste on religion. It is a fact that the Singhalese are not so much attached to the system of *Castes* as their neighbours on the Continent of India. Caste exists in Ceylon, but with greater force in India. Here it is a mere Custom, there a part of the Hindu national Institutes. Here it is more political than religious, there more religious than political. Here no man loses his Caste by the adoption of a new faith—there the Brahman becomes an utter outcast

¹ There is much doubt in the world relative to *Nirwāna* — *Mahāyāna*

by changing his creed Though demurred to at first in a well-known Hall by the higher classes of the Singhalese, we nevertheless find all castes and classes meeting together in the jury box with the greatest harmony All alike sit on the same form in our Christian Churches, and all alike partake of the same cup, the wine that is distributed at the Lord's Supper Wellales now follow different trades, which were anciently restricted to the lower orders, and occasionally marriages take place between persons of different castes Caste is thus losing its iron grasp on the affections of the Singhalese Although in many parts of the Island these changes take place unperceived and unreflected on by the people, yet in others, where they are fully alive to the innovations which affect their social condition, have we frequently heard the exclamation, "This is not surprising—it must take place—Buddha himself has declared it" Yes,—that great sage, like Mahomet, with a foresight and penetration of mind which deserve commendation, predicted the change the abolition of caste His words were, "at a distant period" (and now more than twenty-four centuries have elapsed from the date of the prediction) "princes will confer offices on mean people The nobles will have no means of support They will therefore give their children in marriage to the mean, and thus confusion of castes and classes will be the result The low will become high, and the high low, and the nobles will be dependent upon the mean"¹

Combined with this state of things, which affords a help to Christianity, is the absence in the Buddhist mind of that warmth and fervour in behalf of his faith which exist in the votaries of other religions The Buddhist looks upon Christianity without jealousy—nay, more, there is a disposition on his part to conform to the religion of the Bible along with the faith of his forefathers Neither is this feeling a creature of modern and enlightened times So far back as the age of the great Asôka, the liberal monarch of Asia,

¹ Saddharmaratnakara

we find that far from any hostility being shown to other religions, Buddhists actually honoured them. Thus, in one of the inscriptions of that Buddhist sovereign, we find it declared that 'there are circumstances where the religion of others ought to be honoured, and in acting thus a man fortifies his own faith, and assists the faith of others. He who acts otherwise diminishes his own faith and hurts the faith of others.'¹

Among the many helps to conversions to Christianity in this Island is the great desire manifested among the Singhalese to be instructed in European science and literature.

Now, Buddhism mingles religion with science. The law of earthquakes is taught in the same books which contain admonitions for the salvation of man. The means for the attainment of *Nibban* are pointed out by the same teacher, who propounds that *eclipses* are caused by the monsters *Rahu* and *Khetu*. The doctrine of the earth being a firm flat, around Mount *Meru*, and twice seven circles of mountains and seas, rests upon the authority which inculcates *Silan* as the highest religious duty. The same *Uhamma* which teaches that man's soul is a nonentity teaches also that the earth rests on water, water on wind, and the wind on air. These religious propositions are again so interwoven with the *physical* that we cannot well sever the one from the other. The overthrow of one must therefore affect the stability of the other. If one can be disproved, the other will share in that result. Many have already detected the errors in the Buddhist works. Already there are many who are converts to the European doctrine of 'the rotundity of the earth,' and the native mind is even now prepared to reject the absurdities upon this point in the legends of *Gôtama*. Already many Buddhists have rejected some books which their forefathers regarded as works of authority—already there are men who, though not Christians, yet disbelieve that the hollow on Adam's Peak was an impression left by *Gôtama*,

¹ Girnar Inscript. in Bl. A. S. Journal.

and, already they are impressed with the impropriety of *Idol-worship*, and even orthodox Buddhists doubt that it was sanctioned by Buddha

The English schoolmaster is abroad The village *Pansals*, in which were hitherto congregated the youth of the surrounding hamlets, are deserted The priesthood are thus deprived of their *Ebittayas*, those "bit-boys" who once formed their proud retinue But the children, on the other hand, are better educated in Mission Schools, where, in addition to elementary instruction, they learn the Word of God

Thus it cannot be doubted that, with the growth of intelligence, and the increase of scientific knowledge, the Singhalese will, ere long, perceive the errors of Buddhism, and that the detection of one error will lead to the discovery of another, and another, until at last the people will not only be constrained, but prepared in all soberness, to adopt the religion of the Bible

A powerful means by which Buddhism is failing in the stand it had originally made in this Island is the discouragement which is offered to the native Pundits They do not, under the British Government, derive any of the benefits or enjoy the privileges which were conferred on them in a by-gone day The priesthood, from want of adherents to their faith, are more occupied with secular concerns than with the study of their scriptures The books, too, are getting very scarce, and copyists still more so "This process of decay," says Mr Hardy, "is already apparent in Ceylon¹ There being no outward stimulus to exertion, the priests exhibit no enthusiasm of study, and many of them are unable to read at all"—I believe he meant *the Pah works of Buddhism*

Another and yet more important cause affecting the state and prospects of Buddhism is the dissemination of Christianity through the agency of the missionary Many who were Buddhists when they first entered the Mission Schools

¹ Eastern Monachism, p 366

have become convinced, in the course of their education, of the errors of their religion, and of the truth of the Gospel, and have consequently abandoned their early faith and are now employed in the work of the missions, teaching their convictions to others, and preaching the Word of God. That same zealous missionary from whom I have just quoted says, and says it conscientiously and correctly—"I see before me looming in the distance a glorious vision, in which the lands of the East are presented in majesty—happy, holy, and free"¹ Indeed, there is a ray of light which will ere long burst into full day. Christianity is planted in the households of the Singhalese and in the hearts of the people. Its influence, though silently progressive, is yet felt in our everyday intercourse with our countrymen. The success of the missionary may be traced in the progressive change in the Singhalese mind.

Already there are thousands of Christians, *true Christians*, of all denominations, whether Roman Catholics or Protestants, who are not ashamed, as are the Hindus of Asia, to take up the cross of Jesus, and amidst their bigotted clansmen, to avow their belief in Him who for our sakes came down as the son of a carpenter, and had for His associates the poor fishermen of Galilee. But "however scanty may be the outward evidence of actual conversions," as remarked by Sir Emerson Tennent, "there are symptoms perceptible which afford good grounds of hope for the future."

Gotama himself, with a penetrating mind and a capacious intellect, which take in not only the subtle philosophy of his creed, but what we are here called upon to admire the most, all the encouraging signs of the passing times, and the hopeless prospects of the future, predicted the downfall of Buddhism. He has given five signal epochs for the ascertainment of the declension of his doctrines. They are the following. The first, when the means by which the paths to Nirwana are attained, will be lost, the second, when the observance

¹ Hardy on Buddhism, p. xiii

of the precepts by the priesthood will be neglected, the third, when the greater part of the doctrinal writings, together with the Pali language in which they are written, will disappear, the fourth, when the priests will continue to degenerate that is to say, they will begin to take life, and to plough and sow, and to walk about with a strip of cloth on their arms as a mark of their order, and the fifth, when Buddha's relics will disappear altogether¹ For the consummation of all this, Gôtama has given the same period of time which God in his mercy has assigned for the manifestation of the Saviour—"forty centuries or 4000² years" Bold assertions! Extravagant hope! Yet it is not a little remarkable that more than half of this period has already elapsed Two thousand four hundred and forty-nine years may seem to us earthly mortals, whose 'days' are 'as a shadow that passeth away,' or, 'as it were, a span long,' an immense long period of time Yet in the sight of Him 'a thousand years are but as yesterday,' that which is 'past' is 'as a watch in the night' He allowed 4000 years to pass before he produced "the seed of the woman" to "bruise the serpent's head" It was, nevertheless, "in the fullness of time" Twenty-three centuries, then, during which Buddhism has flourished, may not be a matter for surprise "Buddhism, like all the ancient religions of the world, may have but served to prepare the way of Christ by helping, through its very errors, to strengthen and to deepen the ineradicable yearnings of the human heart after the truth of God"³ Of the predicted time, however, a period of nearly seventeen centuries still remains, and although the Buddhist books have not been lost, and the Pali language (which will form the subject of my next lecture) is still in a high state of cultivation, it is, nevertheless, certain that the extinction of Buddhism will take place before the remainder of the term

¹ Saddhamaratnâkara

² Some of the Ceylon books represent this as 5000 But it is supposed to be a mistake

³ Prof Max Muller's Sanscrit Lit p 32

shall have been added to the bygone period. And, with the signs of the times to which I have briefly adverted, we may reasonably anticipate the speedy arrival of that time when 'the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ,' when Jesus with his saints shall commence his reign of a 'thousand years,' when the nations will worship the one Jehovah, and when 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.'

LECTURE SECOND

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE COLOMBO ACADEMY,

*On the 29th November, 1861*THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES AND THEIR LANGUAGE,
THE PALI

FORTY-FIVE years before 'the conventional era' of the Singhalese did Gôtama proclaim the tenets of Buddhism. That religion, which was decidedly a modification of Brahmanism—devoid of its mystery, inhumanity, intolerance, and exclusiveness, and founded by a Kshatriya prince—was not long before it spread amongst the people, and became the State creed of the *Maghima desa*. Kings were amongst his first disciples, thousands of Brahmans and fire-worshippers were reckoned amongst his votaries, and nobles, merchants, and itinerant traders formed his most attentive congregations¹. Patronized by princes, supported by nobles, and encouraged by the State—the Sâlya fraternity soon increased in numbers, enjoyed a much larger share of freedom than other denominations of ascetics, and exercised far greater privileges than even the Brahmans or the laymen of the realm².

With such adventitious aid, Gôtama's doctrines were speedily disseminated far and wide. They went early into

¹ See Papanhasudaniya, vol. iii p. 482. Here as elsewhere the references are to the writer's own MSS.

² Mahâ Vagga of the Vinaya Pitaka.

*Pachchanta*¹ beyond the confines of the *Magghima desa*. Wherever they went caravan-keepers carried the glad tidings of the new Teacher, merchants enlarged upon his virtues, and itinerant traders related his doctrines. Great was the joy of those who were brought to the knowledge of the word "*Sadhu*!" "*Sadhu*!" exclaimed all who had heard it. Those who had come under its influence lost no time in following the sage. Kings deserted their thrones, governors and chieftains their high trusts, nobles and ministers their avocations, and all their happy homes, wives and children—for the yellow robe of the Sakya 'mendicant'—*bhikkhus*². Thus, at no distant period from their first promulgation, the *dhamma* became the household words of the people, the theme of the traveller, and the topic of epistolary correspondence between princes.

Although it is stated in the *Buddharansa* that Gotama, prompted by 'a misgiving common to all Buddhas,' was at first 'reluctant to proclaim the dhamma,' yet there seems to be no foundation for this assertion. For, as it is also stated, "he was destined³ to save multitudes." He was essentially *Satta* 'the teacher.' His peculiar vocation was to convert. No part of his career contradicts the belief that he was most solicitous for the dissemination of his *dhamma*. His whole life, after he had become Buddha, was devoted to its proclamation, its elucidation, and its exaltation. Seeing that 'the harvest was great, but that the labourers were few,' he directed that 'no two priests should take the same road'⁴. As an encouragement to the first missionaries he declared that there were beings whose love for religion was not wholly extinguished, that their natural reluctance to hear the *dhamma* would vanish, and that there were others who could master it⁵.

¹ This word is used to express 'foreign regions,' the boundaries of which are given in the *Mahā Vagga Chammakkandaka* Sutta.

² *Atthakathā* of *Sanyutta Nikāya*.

³ *Buddhistical Annals* by Turnour—*Buddhavansa*, p. 42.

⁴ *Maha Vagga*, lib. 1, p. 12.

⁵ *Ib.*

To render moreover his religion agreeable to the people, Gôtama even relaxed the rigid rules of discipline which he had at first enacted. He altered them to suit the circumstances, and also the prejudices of men. Where ordination could not be conferred without the intervention of *ten* priests, he reduced the prescribed number by *one-half* in favour of foreign countries. Where a village was rugged, stony, and overrun with brambles and thistles, the priests were permitted to wear thicker shoes than usual. Where bathing was rendered necessary more frequently than was allowed, as in the case of the priests of Ougein, he relaxed the rule in their favour. Where the use of skins had been prohibited, an exception was made in favour of those who had a national predilection for their use¹.

Such were the expedients adopted by Gôtama for disseminating Buddhism amongst the people. Yet the happiest device of all was to reject for his doctrines the sacred language of the Brahmans, and to adopt the vernacular dialect of his time, the Pâli.

The account given by the Singhalese of their sacred Buddhist books, which receive the appellation of *Pittakattâya* and the *Atthakatha*, is, that at the first convocation, which took place in the eighth year of King Ajâtasatta's reign (543 B C), the now existing orthodox version of *Pittakattâya* was rehearsed according, as the Brahmans say, to their *Sruti*,² and was defined and authenticated with such care and precision, as to fix the very number of syllables which it contained,—that certain comments called the *Atthakatha* were made at the same time, that at the 2nd and 3rd convocations, the *Pittakattâya* was *rehearsed* with a view to the suppression of certain schisms which had sprung up, and additional *Atthakathâ* were delivered, exhibiting the history of Buddhism

¹ *Mahâ Vagga*, p. Rhu.

² 'What they have heard with their ears'—so likewise the Buddhists say with regard to a portion of the *Pittakattâya*—*Evamme sutan ekan samayân*—'So it was heard by me at a time.'

between each preceding convocation, and that they were all preserved in the *memory* of succeeding generations¹

It is moreover stated that the entire body of doctrines was afterwards brought into Ceylon by *Mahādu*, and orally promulgated by him upon his mission to Ceylon to disseminate Buddhism in it,—and that the doctrines contained in our present voluminous records were orally perpetuated by the priesthood in Ceylon until the reign of King Valanganbāhu (104—76 B C), when ‘for the first time they were committed to writing’² It would also seem that these writings were afterwards consulted [412 A D] by Buddhagōsa for his compilation of the *Atthakathā*, which were not then extant in Asia³

I have examined the original expressions in the Pali records⁴ which authorize the above summary, and, I confess, there is scarcely anything in the import of them hostile to the belief that the Buddhist doctrines, like those of Mahomet, had a written existence in Asia at the same time that portions of them were committed to memory, which is not disputed

Memory and *Writing* being means by which both words and actions are perpetuated, and there being a great analogy between the mental and physical process by which this is effected,—it is not strange that nearly all acts in reference to them are found so expressed in metaphorical language as to render a double interpretation possible Yet there are indeed certain expressions which may be more reasonably traced to a *written* than a memorial preservation of the word Apart from the evidence deducible from the phraseology⁵ of the scriptures themselves, we obtain most ample testimony from the inadvertent admissions of Buddhist writers,—that the doctrines of Gotama were reduced to writing from the commencement of the Buddhist era, if not in the very lifetime of the sage

¹ See *Buddhistical Annals* by Turnour in *Journal B R A S*, for July 1837

² *Mahāvamsa*, p 207 ³ *Ib*, p 251

⁴ The *Sumangala Vilāsinī* and the *Mahāvamsa*

⁵ Most of the words are the same in the Sanskrit, and I find Prof Goldstucker has correctly defined them in his *Pāṇini—his place in Sanskrit Literature*—pp 13—66, a work which I have only seen after the preparation of this Lecture

Against this position, which may be supported by various circumstances and considerations, it has been asserted that the Buddhist scriptures mentioned "cannon" and "fire arms," and spoke, though in the language of prophecy, of *Ionians* and *Asoka*, and, therefore, they were written *after* the invention of gunpowder, and *posterior* to the Greek domination in Asia. As for the 'invention of gunpowder,' its date is not ascertained, yet, granting that it was not known before the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio, it may be affirmed that "fire-arms" are not mentioned in any of the canonical works of Buddhism. We read of cavalry and infantry, of horses, elephants, and chariots, of bows, arrows, spears, javelins, targets, and swords, but not a single word about "guns" or "gunpowder", and I may remark that the very name for gunpowder does not exist in the Pali language. The work, however, which contains the expression referred to, is the *Malalangedara Vatthi*,¹ another version of the *Lahita Vistara*,² which, I need scarcely observe, is a recent work, and, as its very name implies, 'a glowing exaggeration.'

As to the inference sought to be deduced, viz that the *Yavanas*—who were "a head-shaving race"³—were *Ionians* or Bactrian Greeks, who could only have been known in Asia after the conquests of Alexander the Great,⁴ it is indeed unfounded. Few subjects connected with the history and chronology of the East are capable of more satisfactory proof than that the *Yavanas* or *Yonas* had been known before Gôtama Buddha.

The identification of Yavana with Mahomedans, is indeed open, in the opinion of Professor Wilson, to the objection, that the former are mentioned in works prior to the Mahomedan era.⁵ In one of Asoka's inscriptions, the Girnar, *Antiochus* is called the *Yona Raja*, 'the King of the Yonas.' The *Milindapprasna* speaks of *Milinda* as a Yona King.

¹ See American Oriental Journal, vol iii p 32

² Bengal As Journal, 1854, p 614

³ "Sagara made the Yavanas shave their heads"—Vishnu Purâna, iv 3

⁴ Prof Benfey's article on India

⁵ Wilson's Hindu Theatre, vol ii p 179

Whether he be identical with *Menander*, and the Yônaka country with *Euthydemia*,¹ remains to be proved. From the *Mihindapprasna*, however, we learn that Milinda was born at *Kalasi* in *Alasaddo*, 200 yojanas from Sagal, and that Sagal was only 12 yojanas from Cashmir.

Isidorus also mentions Sagal and Alexandria in the same sentence, and from the *Mahawansa*, moreover, we learn that *Alasadda* or *Alasanda* was the capital of the Yôna country. The mention of *dipa* or "island" in reference to *Alasanda*, in one of the passages above referred to,² presents, however, no valid objections against its identification with *Alexandria*, for Pali writers and Buddhists in general, like the ancient Greeks, had a very vague notion of the geographical position of countries.

Perhaps, the *Mihindapprasna* as well as the inscriptions do not furnish conclusive proofs on the subject, since they were composed clearly after the date of *Asoka*, who is expressly mentioned there³—nor indeed are the *Natakas* of much value for the same reason,—but the same objection does not apply to *Manu*, or the *Maha Bharata*, in both which ancient works the *Yavanas* are expressly mentioned.

Now, according to the Pali Annals, the latter work existed before the Buddhist era. This has been however doubted, but I believe there is not the same misapprehension as regards the Buddhist era itself. Whether the Buddhist annals came into existence after or before the death of the sage, signifies nothing, for if it can be shown that Buddha, whose age is pretty clearly established,⁴ had spoken of the *Yavanas*, their identification with the Bactrian Greeks must indeed fall to the ground. Mr. Turnour intimated this in his elaborate introduction to the *Mahawansa*, but failed to adduce any proof, and this omission has led Orientalists to doubt the statement of that eminent Pali scholar, viz. 'Yonas were mentioned long anterior to Alexander's in-

¹ Vide Wilson's *Arana*, p. 230

² See, *The Friend*

³ From the *Mihindapprasna*

⁴ Turnour's *Mahawansa*, p. 4

vasions in the ancient Pali works. It becomes, therefore, a pleasing duty—and it is no less my privilege—to cite the authority referred to by Mr Turnour. It is the following from the *Mayjhima Nikāya*, where Gotama is stated to have asked with special reference to the distinction of *Aryas* and *Dāsya*s which had gained ground in the “foreign countries,” such as *Yōna* and *Kāmbōja* —

‘Assalāyana, what thinkest thou of this? Hast thou (not) heard that in *Yona* and *Kamboja* and in other foreign countries, there are various *Ayyas* (superiors) and *dasas* (inferiors), that superiors become inferiors, and inferiors, superiors?’

Whilst the authority above quoted satisfactorily explains the reason why, as in the *Hero* and the *Nymph*, Kalidāsa has applied the term *Yavana* to ‘menial females,’ it also proves that the *Yavanas* were anti-Buddhistical.

Since, however, it is expressly stated that the Buddhist doctrines, as well as the Vedas, were *memorially* preserved, the existence of *writing* itself at the date of the Buddhist era has been doubted by some ¹

Great as was, and is the value set upon memory, and great as was the extent to which that faculty was anciently taxed by Oriental nations, yet we should not infer that writing was not known in Buddhistical Asia, as the Greeks concluded from the fact of the Hindus having administered justice from memory ². Nor should we be led away with the belief that it was possible for man to retain in memory the *Pittakattaya* with its voluminous Commentaries. The question is not whether it is possible, in the abstract, to commit a thing to, and retain it in, memory, but whether it is possible to do so to the extent which the *Pittakattaya*, etc., would indicate. A porter may carry a heavy load, but it is not possible to bear the weight of *Adam’s Peak*. We may hear a rat squeaking at the distance of a few yards, but

¹ See Prof. Max Müller’s *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*

² Strabo, xv. 53

it is impossible to do so at the distance of as many hundred miles. So likewise with our other faculties, for instance the memory. The matter in St Paul's Greek Epistles which Beza committed to memory, or that of the sermons which the Guarnies could repeat with fidelity, bears indeed a very small proportion to the *Tepitaka*. If the Druids, who carried in their memories a large number of verses, the whole extent of their twenty years' learning, cannot by any means approach the contents of the English Bible, which is less than *one-eleventh* of the Buddhist Scriptures. If the poems of Homer, which extend to but 30,000 lines, were recited from memory, we ought to bear in mind that they are [2,000,000, — 30,000 =] less than a sixty-sixth of the Buddhist works, the greater portion of which, being in *prose*, could not, moreover, tender that aid which the rhythm of poetry had afforded to the rhapsodists.

Now, reliable history furnishes us with no account of such wondrous feats of memory as are stated in Hindu and Buddhist writings. There are none such recorded in our Holy Scriptures. From all that appears in the Bible, the mode by which,

‘—we, by tracing magic lines, are taught
How to embody, and to colour thought—’

was known before the Israelites left Egypt [1491 B.C.], or, in other words, *writing* was used at a time when its existence among the Hindus does not clearly appear. Neither does it appear from the Holy Scriptures that memory was made the Tablet of any of its doctrines, ‘*write this*,’ ‘*said the Lord unto Moses*,’—and why?—‘*for a memorial*,’ that it might not be forgotten,—and where? *in a book*—Exod. xvii. 14. The Ten Commandments were not only *proclaimed* by the voice of God, but were engraved (*written*) by Him on Tablets of stone. The author of the book of Exodus “took the book of the covenant and *read* it in the audience of the people.” He furthermore *recorded* all that was revealed to him by God in *books*. Man's memory was not thus regarded as unerring or sufficiently stable to

dispense with a *written record* The old Pali proverb *Su chuppu-li mutto katan pandito bhavēyya*, is indeed well known

Buddhistical Annals, moreover, prove beyond all manner of doubt that in the lifetime of Gotama, not only was *writing* practised (1), not only that Buddhist doctrines were conveyed by means of it to different countries (2) (3) (4), not only that laws and usages were *recorded* (5), and that little children were taught to *write* (6), but that even women were found able to do so (7) The various passages which authorize the above statement also prove that the character used at the period above indicated was the *Nagari* ¹

A question still remains for investigation, and which it may be convenient to dispose of here—what *materials* were employed for the purpose of writing at the period of the Buddhist era? All Orientalists know that palm leaves were used in connection with writing We are also accustomed in this country to examine ancient *titles* engraved upon metal Numbers of these were also found in excavations in different parts of Asia The Royal present from Bimbisara to Pukkusati was written upon a gold plate of 6 feet by 1½ (see Extract No 2) This costly material, however, was selected to enhance the value of the gift, and to give weight to the opinion concerning the virtues of Buddha, whom he introduced to the notice of his friend This, therefore, may be regarded as the exception and not as the rule For gold could not have been easily procured by poor scholars, and still poorer mendicant priests Copper and other metals, though less costly than gold, were yet selected only with a view to perpetuate state documents, *eg* King Parakkrama bahu [A D 1200] made it a rule that 'when permanent grants of lands were made to those who had performed meritorious services, such behests should not be evanescent, like lines drawn upon water, by being

(1) Mahā Vagga (2) Papanca Sudaniya (3) Mahā Vagga (4) Mahā Kappinna Vatt (5) Sumangala Vilāsini (6) Mahā Vagga (7) Dampī Atuva.

¹ See the description of this character in reference No 2

inscribed upon *leaves*—a material which is subject to be destroyed by rats and white ants—but that such patents should be engraved on plates of copper, so as to endure long unto their respective generations’

Copper is, moreover, an unwieldy substance. It could not be written upon with the same facility that we now experience in tracing a pen on paper. Except by engraving, no lasting impression could be made upon it, and engraving was by no means practicable. It could not keep pace with the current of thought. Ordinary writing could not be effected by its means. If the Indians had a Pope who corrected a single line 70 times, the engraver would doubtless have had to perform a work of no ordinary labour! Inferior metal was not, therefore, the substance upon which the Poet and the Scholar drafted compositions. In Ceylon, every Pansala, which is identical with the Indian *hpi sala*, has a sand-board, and this is used by poets for composition, and by children for exercises in writing. An author, while composing, usually wrote *first* on these tables, for the convenience of making alterations, but when he had perfected his composition, the same was, it may be presumed, transferred to a more durable substance than the *Vekpala*.

For the preservation of one’s writing a more permanent material was required than the sand, or tablets of wax. Strips of wood and bambu were used, and the use of the latter probably led to the invention of *paper* in China from reeds. Yet paper, whether known at this time or not, was not used by Orientals, except by the inventors themselves. In the Hindu mind there was, as it is still seen, a feeling of aversion to paper. Books written on paper were probably in ancient times, as they are now, not generally used in Asia. Nor have we any reason to believe that paper was known in India at the Buddhist era. But skins were. It should again be borne in mind that originally the Hindus were no slayers of animals, and though the hides of the antelope, etc., came into use gradually, and though animal sacrifices, doubtless, produced a good deal of skins, yet there is no mention of hides as a *writing material*, and Buddhism, too, sets its face

against all animal slaughter and the use of 'Sheep-skin, Deer-skin, and Goat-skin,' which were originally forbidden as coverlets, were only permitted in foreign countries, where the prohibition might be an impediment to the free dissemination of Buddhism. It may thence be concluded that some other material was employed for ordinary writing. Cloth, doubtless, formed one of the common substances for writing upon, as we find it even at the present day in the Burman Empire, and M. Burnouf gives a story from the *Diryu Aladana*, of the Nepal works, to the effect that Bimbisâra sent to Rudrayâna, King of Roruka, a portrait of Gôtama on cloth, with the Buddhist formula of refuge written below it.

Though, perhaps, this is one of the Fables which were invented by the Heretics, who had seceded from the Buddhist church, yet the fact that cloth was used in early times as a writing material may be relied upon. And it would seem from the travels of the early Chinese pilgrims, and the mode in which Buddhist doctrines were circulated, that some other material besides cloth was used for the ordinary purposes of writing, and this we are expressly told, in reference to the correspondence of Bimbisâra and Pukkusâti, was on *panna* or 'leaf', and the discoveries in the topes of *Nandâra* and *Hudda* show that the *Tuz* leaf was used for Inscriptions in the Bactro-Pali character. It was, however, not this that was anciently used for writing purposes. Neither was it 'the lotus leaf as smooth as a parrot's breast,' which Kâlidâsa in his *Sakuntalâ* puts in the hands of the chief heroine of the play to write her love-letter on. Nor, indeed, was it the birch-leaf which the same poet in his *Vikramorvasi* places in the hands of *Urvashi* as a suitable material on which to inscribe her epistle. The latter, says Prof. Max Muller, is used in the sense of a 'leaf or sheet of paper.' And this indicates clearly that Kâlidâsa wrote long after the Buddhist era, and long after the Egyptian papyrus had been known to the Asiatics.

That the leaf, however, which was anciently used by Asiatics for ordinary writing was the *Tahpot*, or the "ola," appears from the very language of Gôtama Buddha, and the

instrument for writing was the *Panna-Suchya*, 'leaf-pin,' or *Stylus*. From a Tamil work which Mr William Ferguson quotes, in his interesting work on the Palmyrah Palm, it appears that the 'oldest Hindu author, *Panni*, mentions writing on *olas*.' I may also mention what Pliny states, that the most ancient mode of writing was upon the leaf of the Palm tree and the *ola* is expressly mentioned as an ordinary writing material in the Buddhist annals.

From an investigation into the question whether the Buddhist doctrines had a written existence from the very commencement of the Buddhist era, I return to the question of the dialect in which they were originally expressed.

Upon the authority of the Tibetan annals, Mons de Koros names several languages into which the Buddhist Scriptures were early translated, but distinguishes one as Tathagata's "own language." The earliest Pali Grammar of Kachchayana, which is indeed extant in Ceylon as well as in Burmah, also refers us to the "language of Buddha," for the elucidation of which he had compiled the *Sandhikappa*.

The question arises—what was this language? That it was not the Sanskrit is generally believed. That it was not the language of which the Chinese pilgrims speak as the *Fan* is also clear, for, apart from other evidence such as the existence of a dual number in the so-called *Fan* language, the same word *Fan* is used to designate *Brahmā*, clearly showing that by it was meant the Sanskrit, or the sacred language of the *Brahmans*. The only other languages that demand attention are, "the language (as it is called) of the northern Buddhists," and the Pali language of the Singhalese.

As to the first, we gather from the writings of a learned Hindu gentleman, and of Mons Burnouf, 'that the Buddhist literature of Nepal, from which the Sacred Scriptures of Tibet, Tartary, and China have been compiled, is in an ugly Sanskrit dialect, destitute of the niceties of the Sanskrit grammatical forms of declension and conjugation, etc., that the authors have sacrificed grammar to the exigencies of metre, that it is in a mixed style of prose and *Gāthās*, that it bears a strong resemblance to the Tantras of the 4th to the 7th

century of the Christian era,—and that it appears to be the production of men to whom the task of compilation was assigned without sufficient materials at their disposal.' In view of these peculiarities, Mons Burnouf has pronounced the Nepal sacred scriptures to be a barbarous Sanskrit, in which the forms of all ages, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakṛita, appear to be confounded' Referring to the difference of language of the different parts of the *Vaipulya*, 'the highly developed Sūtras,' the same distinguished Orientalist remarks, that it 'indicates in the clearest manner that there was 'another digest,' besides the compilations of the three great ecumenical convocations of the Buddhists, and that in his opinion, the Nepal Scriptures comprise a *fourth digest*, which he 'regards as the crude composition of writers to whom the Sanskrit was no longer familiar, and who endeavoured to write in a learned language they ill understood, with the freedom which is imparted by the habitual use of a popular but imperfectly determined dialect'

This question, as indeed many others of historical character, is solved by the Pālī annals of Ceylon, and here I shall present you a translation from the *Dīpāvaṇsa*, the value of the information which it imparts cannot be too much overrated

'Many individuals, viz ten thousand Vajjians,¹ sinful *bhikkhus*, who had been expelled by the *Theras*, assembled together, and, having formed another association, held a Council of the *Dhamma* This is thence called the *Maha Sangiti*

'The *bhikkhus* who held the *Mahā Sangiti* reduced the religion into confusion,² set aside³ the first compilation,⁴

¹ *Wajji*, a portion of Behar in which the Licchavi princes settled It is not, however, stated where this Council was held Doubtless it was at a distance from the principal seat of Government and Buddhism, which at this period was at *Wesali* or modern Allahabad

² *Viloman akansu*, 'made to bristle,' 'ruffled,' 'crossed,' 'confused'

³ *Bhṇḍitva* 'having broken,' 'split'

⁴ *Sangāhan* From the context, I would render this word 'compilation' not 'rehearsal' The acts here related, taken in connection with the import of the word, can only refer to a *written* and not a *mental* collection

and made¹ another They transferred the Suttans from their proper places to others, and perverted the sense and distorted the words² of the five *nikayas* They did so, ignorant of (the difference between) the general discourses, and those (delivered) on particular occasions, and also (between) their natural and implied significations They expressed³ in a different sense that which was otherwise declared, and set aside various significations under the unwarranted authority (shadow) of words⁴ They omitted one portion of the *Suttans* and the *Vinaya* of deep import, and substituted⁵ (their own) version⁶ of them, and the text⁷ They left out the *Pannaran* annotations,⁸ six books⁹ of the *Abhidhamma*, the *Patisambhida*, the *Niddesa* and a portion of the *Jatakas*,¹⁰ without replacing anything in their stead They moreover disregarded¹¹ the nature of nouns, their gender, and (other) accidents¹² as well as the (various) requirements of style,¹³ and corrupted them in various ways'

The above passage clearly indicates that there was a code

¹ *Akarinsu*, 'made' 'done,' 'effected' The same word is used in the following sentence wherein I have rendered it 'placed'

² *Dhamma* here means "phraseology" of the Scriptures as opposed to their *Attha* "the sense"

³ *Thapayinsu*—'they made to stand'

⁴ *Vyanjana*, 'letters,' and in some of the Buddhist writings, 'words' or sentences

⁵ *Paturupa*, placed 'a figure' or 'counterpart'

⁶ From a comparison of the Ceylon and Nepal versions of the sacred writings I find the latter has three sections, the *Vypulya*, the *Nidan* and *Upadesa*, all which are additions to the original discourses Compare the following list taken from *Hodgson's Illustrations* with the list from *Buddhagosa's Atthakatha* [B R A S J] Hodgson says, "The Buddha Scriptures are twelve kinds, known by the following twelve names —1, Sutra 2, Geya, 3, Vyākaraṇa, 4, Gāthā, 5 Udan, 6, Nidan, 7, Ityukta, 8, Jātaka, 9, Vāpulya, 10, Adbhuta Dharma, 11, Avadan, and 12, Upadesa"

⁷ *Tantū*, 'The Text'

⁸ *Atthuddharan*, "explanatory discourses"

⁹ *Pakarana*, 'Compilation, 'something made methodically,' 'an original composition'

¹⁰ The *Jātakas*, in the Indian versions, are it is said, less than 550

¹¹ The peculiarities here noticed when compared with those of the *Gatha dialect* of the Nepal scriptures—(See Essay thereon by *Babu Rajendralal Mitra* in the B I A S J for 1854, p 604 et seq) There can be no doubt of the identity between *this fourth code* of the Buddhists and the Nepal version The differences of style thereon illustrated by Mr Mitra exactly correspond with the defects of composition here described

¹² *parikkaran*, 'attributes,' 'decoration, 'accidents'

¹³ *Akappakaram*, also 'decoration,' 'embellishment,' 'niceties' of style or composition

different from the Orthodox version of the sacred writings, which were authenticated at three different convocations, and that the Nepal version is a modification of that code. It also establishes that the compilation in question was made, not in the *Tantra* period above referred to—not in the age of *Kaṇvīhka*—but in the early part of the 2nd century of the Buddhist era.

I shall now pass on to the *Maghadī* language—the remaining subject of this evening's discourse.

The Sanskrit had, it is believed, died out along with Brahmanism about six centuries B.C.¹ At all events, at the time when Buddhism arose, Sanskrit was no longer the vernacular speech of the people. Several dialects (and the Buddhist books speak of eighteen) had been in current use in India. The Pali was, doubtless, one of them, if not the principal Prākṛit language.² It was properly the language of *Magadha*. Numerous Pali theological terms, which have peculiar significations clearly distinguishable from those assigned to the same cognate expressions by the Sanskrit Brahmans, taken with numerous other circumstances in the history of Buddhism, prove beyond all doubt that the Pālī was essentially the language of Gôtama, and of Buddhism. We find it retained till the time of *Aśoka*, more than two centuries afterwards. The difference between the dialect of the inscriptions and that of the Pali texts, as, for instance, the *Dhammapada*, establishes nothing beyond the fact that the former as a spoken language had undergone changes, whilst the latter, as is evidenced from the *Yedhamma hetuppabava* stanza quoted in the inscriptions, became fixed in Ceylon as the sacred language of the scriptures.³ The use of the Prākṛit for the

¹ Prof. Benfey on India, p. 251.

² If "the Maharashtra," as stated by Rāma Tarkavagisa, "is the root of other Prakṛits"—viz those which have not been banished from Asia—the Pali presents the most unequivocal proof of its being the parent of all Prakṛits, including the Mahārāṣṭrī.

³ Ye dhammā hetuppabbavā
Tēsan hetun Tathāgatō
Aha tēsanca yō nirōdhō
Kvaṇ vādī mahā Samanō

Whatever *dhammā* have proceeded from certain causes Tathāgata declares

inscriptions in preference to the Sanskrit, proves most satisfactorily that it was 'the vernacular speech of the people in the same manner that the use of the *local* alphabets is evidence of a design to render the inscriptions accessible to the people' 'We may therefore (says Prof Wilson) recognize it as an actually existent form of speech in some part of India, and might admit the testimony of its origin given by the Buddhists themselves—by whom it is always identified with the language of Magadha or Behar'

The terms *Pali* and *Magadhi* are names which are at the present day indifferently employed in Ceylon, Ava, Siam, and even China, to express the sacred language of the Buddhists, and being confined to those countries, the term *Pali* is not met with in any of the Indian writings

Magadhi is the correct and original name for the *Pali* It was not called the *Māgadhi*, in consequence of the Mission of Asōka, the King of Magadha, to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon It had received that name before the age of that monarch It was so called after the ancient name of Behar It was the appellation for the ancient vernacular language of Magadha It was the designation for the dialect of the Magadhas—*Magadhānam bhasā Māgadhi*¹

(the same, and) the causes of them, and whatever may be their distinction (the same likewise he declares) 'The *Maha Samana* (is one of) such speech'

This verse is found rendered in so many different ways (See Journal R. A. S. Great Britain and Ireland, xvi p 37 et seq, that I have thought it proper to present the following passage from the *Atthakathā* or the Commentary on the Vinay text—

Ye dhammā hetuppabbhāvā—iti, 'hetuppabbhāvā' nāma panchakkhundha,—tēnassa dukkha sachchan dassēti *Tesan hetu Tathagato aha*—iti 'tesan hetu nāma samudaya sachchan—tancha Tathagato aha iti dassēti *Tesancho yo nirodho*—iti, tēsan ubbhunnampi appavatte nirodho, tancha Tathagato aha iti attho, tenassa nirodha sachchan dassēti Magga Sachchan panettha sarūpatō adassitampi nayato dassitan hōti, nirodhōti uttē tassa sampāpakō maggo vut ova hoti, atthavā *tesancho yo nirodho*—ti ettha 'tesan yo nirodho aha' nirodhupā yōchati, ēvan dvēpi sachchan dassitanu honti Idani tamē vatthan panpādento aha—*Evan vadī mahā Samano*

'Ye dhamma hetuppabbhava—e by 'those that are born by some cause'—are meant the *panchakkhanda*, whereby the verity of *dukkha* (sorrow) is proclaimed to him [Upatisse] By *tesan hetu* 'their cause' is meant the verity of *Samudhaya* 'birth' The same is also pointed out as declared by *Tathagata* By *tesancho yo nirodho* 'whatever may be their destruction,' is meant the transiency, the indurability of those two (sorrow and birth), which are also said to be declared by *Tathagata*

¹ *Prakrit Prakasa*, p 179

Pali is comparatively a modern name for the *Magadhi*. It has not originated from 'the region called *Pallistan*, the (supposed) land of the Pali—Our *Palestine*' 'It does not come from *Palitum* in Tyre—the so-called Pali tower or Fort' It has no historical connection with 'the Palatine hills of Rome'¹ It was not called after the Pehlve, the dialect of the Sassanian dynasty It is not derived from '*Palli*, a village,' as we should now-a-days distinguish *gunavari*, 'village,' 'boorish,' from *Urdu*, "the language of the Court"² Nor does it indeed mean "root," or "original"³

Like *ali*, the word *pali* originally signified a 'line,' 'row,' 'range,'⁴ and was gradually extended to mean 'Suttan'—its being like a line,⁵ and to signify edicts,⁶ or the string of rules in Budha's discourses or doctrines, which are taken from the Suttans From thence it became an appellation for the *text* of the Buddhist Scriptures, as in the following passages —

Therayachariyā sabbe Pālin viya tam aggahun 'All the three preceptors held this compilation in the same estimation as the *text* (of the Pitakattaya)' Thera vadehi pālehi padehi vyanjanhicha 'In the *Thera* discourses as in the *text* (of

¹ See the Friend, vi p 236

² Prinsep, Bl As J vol vii. p 282

³ Turnour's Mahavansa, p xxii, where he merely gives the opinion of the Buddhists, and this is no more correct than the Brahmanical opinion that Prakrita means 'the derived'—Vide post

⁴ See Abhidhanappadipika, p 71 It is not a little curious that Mahomedans, between whom and the Buddhists there was no intercourse at the period when their sacred books were written call the larger portions of the Koran "Sowar" ('Sura, sing), signifying precisely, as the word *Pali* does, 'a row, order, or regular series' The Arabic Sura, whether immediately derived from the Sanskrit 'Sreni' or not, is the same in use and import as the *Sura* or *Iora* of the Jews, who also call the fifty three Sections of the Pentateuch, *Sidam*, a word of the same signification

⁵ Itaran pana,
Atthanan sūchanatō
Suvuttatō savana totha sūdanatō
Suttanatō sutta sabhā gatocha suttan
suttanti akkhatan

'The other (which is) the *Suttan*, is called '*Suttan* from its illustrating the properties (of duties), from its exquisite tenor, from its being productive (of much sense) and from its overflowing (tendency) the protection (which it affords), and from its being like a string —*Buddhaghosa's Atthakatha*

⁶ Hevancha hevan cha me paliyo vadetha 'Thus, thus shall ye cause to be read my *paliyo* or edicts'—*Prinsep's Asoka Inscript*

the Pitakattaya), and in an expression as in a letter' From thence again *Pali* has become the name of the Māgadhi language in which Buddha delivered his doctrines

The terms *Pali* and *Magadhi* are names which are at the present day indifferently employed in Ceylon, Ava, Siam, and even China, to express the sacred language of the Buddhists, and being confined to those countries, the term *Pali* is not met with in any of the Indian writings

The *Pali* has also received the designation of *Tanti*, 'the string of a lute,' its Sanskrit cognate being *tantri*. From that signification it seems to have been originally applied by the Brahmans to *tantra*, 'a religious treatise teaching peculiar and mystical formulæ and rites for the worship of their deities or the attainment of superhuman power,' or, 'that which is comprised of five subjects, the creation and destruction of the world, the worship of the gods, the attainment of all objects, magical rites for the acquirement of six superhuman faculties and four modes of union with the spirit by meditation' The Māgadhas, before their secession from the Brahman Church, probably used the Māgadhi term *tanti* in this sense, but when they embraced the Buddhist faith, they used it to signify the *doctrines* of Gôtama as in the following passages —(1) Sammā Sambuddhò pi te pitakan Buddha vachanan Tantan aròpentò Māgadhi bàsàyá íva aròpesi—'Buddha who rendered his *tepitaka* words into Tanti (or tantra or doctrines) did so by means of the Magadhí language'—*Vibhanga Atuva* (2) Tivagga sangahan chatuttmsa suttanta patimanditan chatu satthi bhānavāra parimānan tantin sangāyetva ayan dīgha nikāy ò nāmā 'ti—'Having rehearsed the *Tanti* (the doctrines) which contain 64 *banavara* embracing 34 *Suttans* composed of 3 classes, (this was) named Dīghanikāya'—*Bhohdvansa* From its application to the Buddhist doctrines, *Tanti* has become a name for the sacred language itself of the Buddhists—viz the *Magadhi* or *Pali*. Thus in Buddhagosa's *Atthakatha*, 'why was the first convocation held? In order that the *Nīdanan* of the *Vinaya pitaka*, the merits of which are conveyed in the *Tanti* (*Pali*) language,

might be illustrated ' Thus, also, in the *Balaatara* in a part of the passage which answers to the § 58 in the Rev B Clough's version, where it is left untranslated

Evam añña pi viññeyyā
 Sanhita tanta ya hitā
 Sanhitā chita vannanan
 Sannidha'byava dhānatō

That is to say, 'In this wise know the rest of the combinations which are susceptible in the *Tanti* (language) *Sanhita* is the combination of letters without a hiatus'

The popular tradition amongst the native Pandits of Ceylon is that Pali is a sister dialect of the Sanskrit, having been probably derived from one and the same stem

In considering this subject we notice that the *Brahmans* regard the *Sanskrit* to be of divine origin, and as a direct revelation from their creator I am indeed aware that the Brahman notion of the so-called *Prākṛits* (the *Magadhī* included) being derived from the Sanskrit, has the countenance and support of such eminent men as MM Burnouf and Lassen but it is submitted with great deference that this position can no more be satisfactorily proved, than that *Prakrit* means "derived," or that *pakṛiti*, 'the mother,' is the *daughter* Be this, however, as it may, the pretensions of the Buddhists are as great as those of the *Brahmans* The former claim for the Pali an antiquity so remote that they affirm it to be 'a language the root of all dialects, which was spoken by men and Brahmas at the commencement of the creation, by those who never before heard nor uttered human accents, and also by all Buddhas'

For the above we have not only the authority of the *Payōgasiddhi*, but the following from the *Vibhanga Atuvā*

'Tissadatta therā took up the gold broomstick in the Bō compound, and requested to know in which of the eighteen *bhasas* he should speak? He so (spake) from (a knowledge of those languages) not acquired through inspiration, but by actual study, for being a very wise personage he knew those several dialects by learning—wherefore, being one of (such)

acquirements he so inquired This is said here (to illustrate) that men acquire a *bhasa* (by study)

‘Parents place their children when young either on a cot or a chair, and speak different things and perform different actions Their words are thus distinctly fixed by the children (on their minds) (thinking) that such was said by him, and such by the other, and in process of time they learn the entire language If a child born of a *Damila* mother and an *Andhaka* father should first hear his mother speak, he would speak the *Damila* language, but if he should hear his father first, he would speak the *Andhaka* If, however, he should not hear them both, he would speak the *Magadhī* If, again, a person in an uninhabited forest, in which no speech (is heard), should intuitively attempt to articulate words, he would speak the very *Māgadhi* It predominates in all regions (such as) Hell, the Animal kingdom, the *Petta* sphere, the human World, and the World of the *devas* The remaining eighteen languages, *Otta*, *Kirātha*, *Andhaka*, *Yonaka*, *Damila*, etc, undergo changes—but not the *Magadhī*, which alone is stationary, as it is said to be the speech of Brahmas and *Aryas* Every Buddha, who rendered his *tepitaka* words into doctrines, did so by means of the very *Magadhī*, and why? Because by doing so it (was) easy to acquire their (true) significations Moreover, the sense of the words of Buddha which are rendered into doctrines by means of the *Magadhī* language, is conceived in hundreds and thousands of ways by those who have attained the *patī sambuddha*, so soon as they reach the ear, or the instant the ear comes in contact with them, but discourses rendered into other languages are acquired with much difficulty’

Now, it is a fact that ‘all rude nations are distinguished by a boastful and turgid vanity’ They cannot speak of their race or of their sacred languages without assigning to them an origin the remotest in the world. In ‘a spirit of adulation and hyperbole’ they exalt them as high as the object of their adoration and worship This is peculiarly the case with Eastern nations.

Although such extravagantly high pretensions are by

themselves of no value, yet, when some of these traditions are partially supported by the concurrence of other testimony, such as the high antiquity of the Pali—its refinement—its comparative simplicity both verbally and grammatically—and its relationship to the oldest language of the Brahmans, from which their present dialect has been *Sanitized*—we may, by a judicious exercise of our judgment in separating fact from fable, and reality from fiction, receive them, I apprehend, to the extent to which they are confirmed. Thus the traditions of both the Brahmans and the Buddhists in respect of their respective languages may be received, so far as they are proved to be two dialects of high antiquity derived from a source of which scarcely any traces are to be found at the present day.

The Pali according to tradition was brought into Ceylon by our first Monarch Wijaya, shortly after the time of Gôtama, and although Professor Lassen regards this as a question involved in obscurity, yet the name of the “Conqueror” and the designation of many a town, edifice, and mountain—nay, the very name “*Tambapanni*” given to the Island by Wijaya, and which we find was shortly afterwards used by the Indian Monarch *Asoka* in the rock Inscriptions, would lead to the inference that the Pali was the language of the first colonists.

There is another circumstance which may be here noticed. The birth-place of the first settlers of Ceylon was *Lata*. It is identical with *Lata* or *Lada*, and *Dandi*, the author of *Kavyadarsa*, says that even in comparatively a modern age, that of the dramas, the language of *Lata* as well as of *Banga* (which latter is only a different pronunciation of *Vanga*, and merely another name for *Gouda*) was usually the *Prakrit*. His authority goes farther, for he places the language of *Lata* in the same class as that of *Gouda*, *Surasena*, etc., and his commentator explains the ‘*et cetera*’ to mean the *Magadhi* (Pali) and *Panchala* (the Zend). Hence all circumstances considered, it is very clear that the *Pali* was the language

¹ See my remarks hereon in the Journal C B P A S

of the band from Lala who colonized Ceylon, or rather a modification of it which bore the nearest relation to such languages as the Sûraseni and the *Zend*—at all events, a so-called *Prakrita* dialect, and therefore a language of the *Āryan* and not of the South-Indian class

But the best evidence of the fact is that furnished by a comparison of the Singhalese with Pali and other Indian dialects ¹

I have already,² though somewhat doubtfully, intimated my belief that the Singhalese belonged to the northern family of languages. My later researches only tend to confirm that belief, and they enable me moreover to affirm that “the most unequivocal testimony” to which Prof Spiegel and Sir Emerson Tennent refer, tends to but one conclusion, viz that ‘that the Singhalese as it is spoken at the present day, and still more strikingly as it exists as a written language in the literature of this Island, *presents no affinity* to the Dekhanese group of languages’ It is, however impossible to do justice to the subject within the circumscribed limits of a Lecture of one hour’s duration, and I must therefore return to the subject

It would appear from both the Singhalese and Tibetan annals that even in the lifetime of Buddha, there were many dialects prevalent in India. As already observed, eighteen dialects are spoken of in the *Vibhanga Atuva*, and preference is of course given to the *Māgadhi*. The orthodox version of the Buddhist Scriptures, written in the last-mentioned dialect, was doubtless brought by Mahindu [in 307 B C] to Ceylon, where it has since remained unchanged, as its phraseology abundantly testifies

Although a dead language, the Pali has been carefully cultivated in Ceylon. From the period it became the sacred language of the Singhalese, Kings and Princes have encouraged its study, nobles and statesmen have vied with each other to excel in its composition, and laymen and priests have produced some of the most elegant works in it. The

¹ A paper on the subject will be shortly published as an Appendix to this Lecture

² See my Introduction to the *Sidathasangara*

names of Batuwantudave, Hikkaduwe, Lankâgoda, Dodanpahala, Valâne, Bentota, Kahave, and Sumangala, amongst a host of others, are indeed familiar to Pali scholars, as those of the learned who are *even now* able to produce compositions by no means inferior to those of a Buddhagôsa or a Parakkrama, though, like the modern Sanskrit, certainly more artificial than the more ancient writings. Not only in Ceylon, but in the Burman Empire are there scholars who excel in Pali. Of the writings, especially, of the present King of Siam, I cannot speak but in the highest terms of admiration. There, as in Ceylon, the Pali is most assiduously cultivated amongst the priesthood. But, as is not the case in Ceylon, whole libraries are there replaced annually by new ones, after they have undergone the careful inspection of learned men.

Mr Hardy states that the high state of cultivation to which the Pali language was carried, and the great attention that has been paid to it in Ceylon, may be inferred from the fact that a list of works in the possession of the Singhalese, which he found during his residence in this Island, included thirty-five works on Pali Grammar, some of them being of considerable extent¹. And what is still more remarkable, the Singhalese, which had been formed out of the Pali, was eagerly, though ineffectually, sought to be "*set aside*" for the language of Gôtama. It is expressly stated by the author of the Mahavansa (459-477 A.D.) that in that work, the object aimed at, is the *setting aside* of the Singhalese language, in which the former history was composed². Again the design of the Pali version of the Singhalese *Daladavansa* (1196-1200 A.D.) is said to be the same³.

In the proportion, however, in which Pali has been cultivated and enriched in Ceylon, has it declined in Asia⁴ and with it the religion which was taught through its medium

¹ Eastern Monachism, pp 191, 2

² Introduction to the Mahawansa

³ See Beng. A. S. Journal

⁴ The modern Mâgadhî differs essentially from the Pali. In those respects in which it differs from the Pali it approaches the Prakrit, or the sacred language of the Jâmas.

The shock which Buddhism received in those countries in which it most flourished (when such works as the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Lahita Vistāra* began to make their appearance) must have been great indeed to render necessary as we have already seen the special mission of a Buddhagosa to Ceylon. His translations were so much admired that in very early times they found their way from Ceylon to Burmah, the only country, we believe, where they are still preserved in the integrity of our originals. Not only these but our historical works, it seems, had in early times been applied for, and obtained by the Burmese, and we find from a valuable collection of Pāli books brought down in 1812, by the learned Nadoris de Silva, Modliar, from that country, that they had preserved even the commentary on the Mahawansa with comparatively greater accuracy than ourselves. Fortunate indeed it was for Ceylon that the Burman Empire had borrowed Lanka's Pāli books, for when the literature of this Island was nearly annihilated by the cruelties of some of our Malabar Monarchs (and we had indeed amongst them many an Edward III. who laid his ruthless hands on the literary and religious archives of the nation), the repositories of Siam and Amarapura failed not to supply our deficiencies, and to furnish us with the means for placing our Pāli Literature at least upon a respectable footing.

The number of Pāli books on Buddhism far exceeds the Lexical and Grammatical works, and it is remarkable that the Pāli Literature of the Singhalese is not deficient in other branches of Oriental Sciences. It presents a proud array of extensive volumes on Prosody, Rhetoric, Medicine, History, etc. Of all these, however, the historical works possess an all absorbing interest. For I may safely assert that no Country in the East can boast of so correct a history of its own affairs and those of Asia generally, as Ceylon. The Phœnicians, who, as you are aware, had influenced the civilization of a very large portion of the human race by their great inventions and discoveries, by their colonies established in every quarter of the globe, and above all by the extensive commerce which they had carried on—have

left nothing behind, except the alphabet which they had invented. The Persians, a very interesting and a very ancient race of people, and to whom we naturally look for historic information, have little beyond their *Zendavasta*, two chapters of which contain some traditions of their own. The Hindus, a people who had a literature of their own from a period long before the Singhalese became a nation, have no historical records, and their scanty 'fragmentary historical recollections,' which have been embodied with their religious works, such as the *Puranas*, present themselves in the language of a *prophecy*, and upon their basis no trustworthy chronological calculations can be made¹. In the Vedas again, which are perhaps older than any Ceylonese Buddhist writings, and which are supposed to 'furnish the only sure foundation on which a knowledge of ancient and modern India can be built up'²—there is a lamentable lack of historic sense which has ever been one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Indian mind³.

The Chinese, who boast of a descent from times remoter than the days of Adam, have no historical writings which can throw the smallest particle of light upon the affairs of the East.

In the country of Magadha, so greatly renowned as the birth-place of Buddhism, and the still more interesting language (the Pali) in which it was promulgated—a kingdom, moreover, which dates its origin from the time of the Mahá Bhàrat,⁴—we have no records of a historical character, beyond religious inscriptions, sculptured on stones, and grants of lands engraved on copper plates. These 'unconnected fragments,' beyond serving to fix the dates of particular Kings, furnish us at present with neither History nor matter sufficient to help us to a general Chronology. The Bactrian coins, again, afford us the same kind of information with

¹ See Prof. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 503.

² Essay on the results of the Vedic Researches, by W. D. Whitney, *American Oriental J.* vol. III. p. 291.

³ *ib.* p. 310.

⁴ Elphinstone's *History of India*.

which the monumental inscriptions furnish us, but little or nothing beyond that 'The only Sanskrit composition yet discovered in all Asia to which the title of History can with any propriety be applied is the *Rajatarangini*,'¹ a comparatively modern work which was compiled A.D. 1148 and this again does not bear any comparison either in point of the matter it contains, or in the interest which attaches to the subjects it treats upon, with the *Singhalese Historical Records*

The genuine historic zeal exhibited by the Singhalese from the very time they colonized Ceylon far surpasses that of all other Indian nations²

The love³ which the Singhalese had for such pursuits was participated by their rulers themselves, and, whilst tradition asserts that some of our early Singhalese Annals from which the Mahâwansa was compiled were the works of some of our monarchs—History records the facts, that 'the national annals were from time to time compiled by royal command,' and that the labours of 'the historians were rewarded by the State with grants of lands' The interest which our sovereigns took in this part of the national literature was so great indeed, that many a traveller and geographer of the middle ages was peculiarly struck, as 'a trait of the native rulers of Ceylon,' with the fact of the employment by them of persons to compile the national annals And though comparatively few are the records which the ravages of time and the devastating hand of sectarian opposition have left behind, they, nevertheless, excel in matter and interest all the annals of Asia 'As the first actual writing and

¹ Prof. H. H. Wilson, Introduction to *Rajatar*

² Lassen's *Indisch Alt* vol. II pp. 13, 15

³ This is inherent in the Singhalese, and it is not a little curious that just as we are writing on the subject, the *Colombo Observer* of 30th August, 1860, puts forth the same views in alluding to a recent examination of the boys of the *Cotta Christian Institution*, as follows, "Then came a very interesting examination of several boys in Roman History. The readiness with which the various questions were answered, and the apparent pleasure the boys took in this study, show that the spirit of their instructors who composed the Mahâwansa is strong in Singhalese boys of this generation."

the *first well-authenticated* inscriptions in India, are of *Buddhist* origin,¹ so likewise the first actual chronicle as well as the most authentic history, in the whole of the Eastern hemisphere, may be traced to a CEYLON-BUDDHISTIC source

Sir James Emerson Tennent² says, and says truly, that "the Mahawansa stands at the head of the historical literature of the East, unrivalled by anything extant in Hindostan, the wildness of whose chronology it controls"

When for instance the capacious mind of Sir William Jones seized with avidity the identity of *Chandragupta* and *Sandracottus*, and thence discovered the only key for unlocking the history and chronology of Asia, the annals of Ceylon were not without their use in removing the doubts which were conjured up in the imagination of antiquaries. When the indefatigable labours of a Prinsep enabled him to decipher the rock Inscriptions of *Piyadāsi* or *Devanampiya*, the discovery could not with certainty have been applied either to fix the proper date of the Buddhistic era, or to reduce the chronology of Asia to its proper limits without the aid of the Singhalese records—the *Dipāvansa*³ in particular, which identified *Devanampiya* with *Asoka*. When the obscure dialect of the pillar Inscriptions presented philological difficulties, the Ceylon Pālī Mahawansa alone served as an "infallible dictionary"⁴ for their elucidation. When again the Cashmirean history put forth an extravagant Chronology, Ceylon chronicles alone enabled Mr Turnour to effect an important and valuable correction to the extent of 794 years, and thereby to adjust the chronology of the East. When lastly the deep penetrating mind of a Burnouf, from an examination into the Nepal version of the Buddhist

¹ Prof Müller's *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 520

² *History of Ceylon*, p. 516

³ "Mr Turnour's Pālī authorities will be of essential use in expounding our new discovery, and my only excuse for not having taken the epitome already published as my guide before is, that the identity of *Pradassa* was not then established"—Mr James Prinsep in the *Bengal A S J* vol vi p. 792, &c.

⁴ "On turning to the *infallible Tika* upon our inscriptions afforded by Mr Turnour's admirable Mahawansa, we find a circumstance recorded which may help us materially to understand the obscure passage"—Prinsep, *Bengal A S J* vol. vii p. 262

Scriptures, conceived the idea of "a fourth digest" of the Buddhists, apart from the compilations of the three convocations, the Singhalese Annals, and above all the *Dīpawansa* alone, furnished the proof required for establishing the conjecture

Such were, and are, the claims of the Pali literature of this Island upon the attention of the learned in Europe. Yet it is a melancholy fact that for a very long period of time the greatest indifference was manifested in its study by the savans of Europe.

When more than forty years ago Rask wrote, the greatest misconception prevailed amongst Europeans on all Oriental subjects. Eastern languages were not extensively cultivated. A gloom enveloped the science of Comparative Philology. Inaccessible was the path to Eastern history. Even the *Sanskrit*, the language in the highest state of cultivation now-a-days, was then but imperfectly known to the European world. Some considered it a derivative of the *Zend*, and others treated it as a creature of the Pali. Little, if anything, was definitely investigated of the latter. The relation which Sanskrit bore to the Prakrit was imperfectly investigated, and was, at the time Wilson translated *Vikrama* and *Urvashi*, far from being understood, and when the researches of Lassen and Burnouf, 'with that love of novelty and that honorable ambition which greatly distinguished them,' brought to light the Nepal books of Buddhism, even the names of their Pali versions were unknown to Europeans. The distinction between the *Arya* and the *Dekhanese* groups of languages was not well ascertained. The Tamil was supposed to have been an offshoot of the Sanskrit. The *Andhra* merely existed as a book name. Between it and the *Dravida* no relationship was established, much less was the identity of *Dravida* and *Damila* recognized. The Singhalese was not known in Europe.

When, more than thirty years ago, Hodgson announced the discovery of the Nepal Scriptures in a dialect intermediate between the Pali and Sanskrit, and the indefatigable Burnouf commenced their examination, eight years

afterwards—an impression was formed hostile to the real merits of the *Pali* or the Magadhi, and this, far from being removed, was indeed confirmed by the unjust opinion of Colebrooke, one of those patriotic followers of Sir William Jones, who devoted his chief attention to the *Sanskrit* literature—when he pronounced the *Pali* to be “a dialect used by the vulgar,” and identified it with “the *Apabhhransa*, a jargon destitute of regular grammar”

This hasty expression of opinion by one so highly esteemed for his deep researches in the Indian literature has not however been without its ill effects. It checked, though for a time, the current of inquiry. It discouraged those who might have otherwise successfully pursued their researches in the *Pali*. It even damped the energies of the nations of continental Europe, who “are the most diligent cultivators of Oriental languages.” Notwithstanding the investigations of Weber, Benfey, Fausboll, Kuhn, and others of whose labours, so far as we know them in this remote part of the globe, we cannot speak but with the highest terms of commendation—the study of the *Pali* is yet, I apprehend, far from being extensively pursued by Europeans, and the full extent of the progress which that language has made in Ceylon, and its refinement and purity are imperfectly appreciated even by those who have made Philology their favourite study. Whilst numerous grammatical works in the *Sanskrit* and other Indian dialects have been published from time to time both in India and Europe, not a single treatise on *Pali* grammar has yet appeared, if we except the translation of *Balanatara* made in Ceylon, and although several *Koshas* or lexicons have been likewise published of the former, it is indeed a fact that no *Dictionary* of the latter language has yet made its appearance in any part of the world save Ceylon, where too, from many local disadvantages, nothing has been effected beyond the *Abhidhanappadipika* and the *Dhatu Manjusa* published by the Revd B Clough, and a *Pali Dictionary* (still in MS) compiled by the Revd D J Gogerly, the Principal of the Wesleyan Mission in Ceylon. When again we perceive that a material advance

has been made by Europeans in the study of the Sanskrit, and the historical, doctrinal and metaphysical works perpetuated in that tongue, have been nearly all translated into European languages, it is indeed not a little to be regretted that in those branches of learning no Pali works have been published (if we except the *Dhammapadam* and *Kammawakya*) beyond the Mahawansa, and various selections from Pali writers, contributed by the Honble George Turnour, Mr L De Zoysa Modliar, and the Revd D J Gogerly

Amongst all the monuments of Pali literature, the sacred books of Buddha present such a profitable subject of study to the Christian Missionary, on account of the matters therein treated of—which, when thoroughly examined, cannot fail to produce the most valuable materials for the displacement of Buddhism—that one would have naturally thought it had engaged his most earnest attention both in Ceylon and in the Burman Empire. It is however not so. If we except the valuable contribution of the Revd C Bennet, of the American Baptist Union, in Burma, entitled the *Malalangara Wattoo*, and the life of Gotama by a Roman Catholic Bishop (I believe Bigandet is his name), there is nothing to recount beyond the labours of the Revd B Clough, the Revd D J Gogerly of Ceylon, and the Revd P D Silva of the Wesleyan Mission, to whose valuable researches the public are highly indebted for various Buddhistical tracts in the pages of periodical literature.

It will be thus seen that the merit of *Pali* research belongs to those connected with Ceylon, where the Pali books have been preserved with the reverence accorded to the Buddhist religion. So accurately correct are our books in comparison with the same works on the continent of India, that Mr Hodgson, who had been long of a different opinion, was latterly compelled to admit—‘that the honours of Ceylonese literature and of the Pali language were no longer disputable’

THE LATE KENJIU KASAWARA.

[The following obituary notice of a young Buddhist priest, Kenjiu Kasawara, appeared in the *Times* of September 22. We reprint it here, with a few additional notes of the writer, Professor Max Muller.]

"SIR,—The last mail from Japan brought me the news of the death of my young friend and pupil, Kenjiu Kasawara, and though his name is little known in England, his death ought not to be allowed to pass unnoticed. Does not Mr Ruskin say quite truly that the lives we need to have written for us are of the people whom the world has not thought of—far less heard of—who are yet doing the most of its work, and of whom we may learn how it can best be done? The life of my Buddhist friend was one of the many devoted, yet unfulfilled lives, which make us wonder and grieve, as we wonder and grieve when we see the young fruit trees in our garden, which were covered with bright blossoms, stripped by a sudden frost of all their beauty and promise.

"Kenjiu Kasawara was a young Buddhist priest who, with his friend Bunyiu Nanjio, was sent by his monastery in the year 1876 from Japan to England, to learn English in London, and afterwards to study Sanskrit at Oxford. They both came to me in 1879, and in spite of many difficulties they had to encounter they succeeded, by dint of hard and honest work, in mastering that language, or at least so much of it as was necessary for enabling them to read the canonical books of Buddhism in the original—that is, in Sanskrit. At first they could hardly explain to me what their real object was in coming all the way from Japan to Oxford, and their progress was so slow that I sometimes despaired of their success. But they themselves

did not, and at last they had their reward. Kasawara's life at Oxford was very monotonous. He allowed himself no pleasures of any kind, and took little exercise, he did not smoke, or drink, or read novels or newspapers. He worked on day after day, often for weeks seeing no one and talking to no one but to me and his fellow-worker, Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. He spoke and wrote English correctly, he learnt some Latin, also a little French, and studied some of the classical English books on history and philosophy. He might have been a most useful man after his return to Japan, for he was not only able to appreciate all that was good in European civilization, but retained a certain national pride, and would never have become a mere imitator of the West. His manners were perfect—they were the natural manners of an unselfish man. As to his character, all I can say is that, though I watched him for a long time, I never found any guile in him, and I doubt whether, during the last four years, Oxford possessed a purer and nobler soul among her students than this poor Buddhist priest. Buddhism may, indeed, be proud of such a man. During the last year of his stay at Oxford I observed signs of depression in him, though he never complained. I persuaded him to see a doctor, and the doctor at once declared that my young friend was in an advanced stage of consumption, and advised him to go home. He never flinched, and I still hear the quiet tone in which he said, 'Yes, many of my countrymen die of consumption.' However, he was well enough to travel and to spend some time in Ceylon, seeing some of the learned Buddhist priests there and discussing with them the differences which so widely separate Southern from Northern Buddhism. But after his return to Japan his illness made rapid strides. He sent me several dear letters, complaining of nothing but his inability to work. His control over his feelings was most remarkable. When he took leave of me, his sallow face remained as calm as ever, and I could hardly read what passed within. But I know that after he had left, he paced for a long time up and down the road, looking again and again at my house, where, as he

told me, he had passed the happiest hours of his life. Once only, in his last letter, he complained of his loneliness in his own country. 'To a sick man,' he wrote, 'very few remain as friends.' Soon after writing this he died, and the funeral ceremonies were performed at Tokio on the 18th of July. He has left some manuscripts behind, which I hope I shall be able to prepare for publication, particularly the 'Dharma-sangraha,' a glossary of Buddhist technical terms, ascribed to Nāgārguna. But it is hard to think of the years of work which are to bear no fruit, still harder to feel how much good that one good and enlightened Buddhist priest might have done among the 32 millions of Buddhists in Japan. *Hæc, pia anima!* I well remember how last year we watched together a glorious sunset from the Malvern Hills, and how, when the Western sky was like a golden curtain, covering we knew not what, he said to me, 'That what we call the Eastern gate of our Sukhāvatī, the Land of Bliss.' He looked forward to it, and he trusted he should meet there all who had loved him, and whom he had loved, and that he should gaze on the Buddha Amitabha—the 'Infinite Light.'

"Oxford, Sept 20

F. MAX MULLER"

I may add that I possess an English translation of I-tsing's Nān-hai-ki-kwēi-nēi-fā-lwān, made by Kasawara, during his stay at Oxford. It is not complete, and he hoped to finish it after his return to Japan, where a new edition of the Chinese text is now being published from an ancient Korean copy, collated with several Chinese editions. With the help, however, of Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio and some other scholars, I hope it will be possible before long to publish Kasawara's translation of that important work.

When I said that the Dharmasangraha was ascribed to Nāgārguna, I ought to have added that Nāgārguna's authorship of the book rests only on the title at the end of the two MSS. which exist in Europe. There we read, *Iti Nāgārgunapādaviraḥitāyaṃ Dharmasangrahaḥ samāptaḥ*. This is evidently a wrong, or, at all events, an imperfect title. It would be easy to correct it into *viraḥito 'yaṃ Dharma-*

sangrahaḥ, but that would make Nāgārguna responsible for a number of technical terms of which it is very doubtful whether they could have existed at so early a date. It is true we could say that terms of a decidedly modern character might have been added to the Dharmasangraha from time to time. There are differences between the two MSS of the Dharmasangraha, and they show that words and even classes of words were added at a later time. There is, besides, the Chinese translation by Sh'-hu (A D 980-1000), in which several sections of the Sanskrit text are wanting, while other sections are found there which do not occur in our text (see B Nanjio, Catalogue, No 812).

What is still more important is that Nāgārguna is not mentioned by the Chinese translator as the author of this Buddhist glossary.

It was Mr Kasawara who, after copying long extracts from the *Pragñā-paramitā* and its commentary by Nāgārguna, suggested to me that our list of terms might have been collected from Nāgārguna's commentary, and that the title might have been originally intended for something like *Iti Nāgārgunapādaviraḥitavām Pragnapāramitāvṛttau Dharmasangrahaḥ*. He adds, "This conjecture is very weak, and not worth mentioning." I think, on the contrary, that it is a conjecture of which many a scholar might be proud.

Our great difficulty is the exact age of Nāgārguna. There is Nāgārguna, the Bodhisattva, called Lun-shu, i.e. dragon-tree, the fourteenth patriarch, whose life was translated by Kumārajīva, about 400 A D (B N Cat 1461). Among the 21 (not 24) works ascribed to him the Dharmasangraha is not mentioned. But there is a curious letter of his, called *Arya-Nāgārguna-bodhisattva-suhṛillekha*, which ought here to be mentioned. It was translated three times, first by Gunavarman, A D 431, secondly by Sanghavarman, A D 434 (not 534), and thirdly by I-tsing, A D 700-712. I-tsing says that the Buddhists in the five parts of India commit these lines to memory when they begin to study their religion. He adds that the letter was addressed by the Bodhisattva Nāgārguna to his old patron (Dānapati), a great

king of the South, who was called So-to-pho-hân-na, i.e. Sadvâhana, and whose proper name was Sh'-yen toh-kiâ or Shân-tho-kiâ

Here is the translation of the letter, as taken from I-tsing's Chinese translation, made during his stay at Tamralipti —

"O thou of complete virtue, I shall explain the law of suchness (tathâtvam), to acquire holy merit (on my part) I shall expound the truest goodness, listen to me with full attention This verse will be called the Noble Gita

As an image, whatever its materials be, when carved, is worshipped by all the wise, so, despite of my verse so unskilfully made, let it not be slighted, for the meaning is in accordance with the good law

Although thou, O King, hast already been acquainted with the law of suchness (tathâtvam), yet hear further the words of Buddha, so that thou mayest increase thy understanding and excellence As a wall well painted is brighter still when illumined by the moon, is not the beauty of a thing increased, when it meets with one still more beautiful ?

(Adoration to) the Buddha, the Religion, and the Community! All who keep the precept of generosity, the gods, who respectively accumulate their virtuous actions—they should always be intent on the teaching of Buddha

In the practice of the virtuous actions of ten kinds (Dasakusalakarmapatha), the body, speech, and mind¹ are the most essential (actors) Let us refrain from all kinds of spirituous liquor (which lead the body, etc., to insanity), so that we may live a pure life

Know that treasures are not constant—such is their state, and give them, as of right, to holy men All, both poor and twice-born, will (thereby) be intimate friends in the coming births

Every virtue has its stand on Sîla, as all things prosper on (good) soil Let us practise with constancy, as we are taught by Buddha

¹ See Cowell, *Journal of Philology*, vol. III p. 215, *Dhammapada*, v. 96, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. x p. 28

Generosity, good conduct, forbearance, energy, meditation and wisdom are ineffable and incomparable. Let us practise these, because they alone enable us to attain that shore. He is a Buddha who has crossed over the sea of births."

So far the letter. But who is the King to whom it is addressed? It is natural to suppose that he was a Sâtavâhana, a king in Southern India, and belonged to the Andhra-bhūta dynasty. On referring, however, to the names of the sovereigns of that dynasty, as given in the Purâṇas, there is no name like SH'-yen-toh-*liâ*, or Shan-tho-*liâ*. One might have thought of that corrupt name Kivilaka or Vivilaka, but the more authoritative reading is Ivilaka or Apitaka (see Vishnu Pur transl by Wilson, ed F Hall, vol iv p 196).

Fortunately we are now in possession of far more trustworthy documents on the Sâtavâhana dynasty, thanks chiefly to the labours of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. But on referring to his last essay on "Nasik, Pându Lena Caves," in the Bombay Gazetteer, we look again in vain for anything corresponding to the Chinese name. It cannot be Sâtakarṇi, or, in Pali, Sadakāṇi, unless the Chinese transliteration is supposed to be very corrupt. The only Sanskrit names that one might guess at under the strange Chinese disguises are *Gī* in ta-ka or *Gñātaka*, possibly *Getika* or *Dhyātika*.

Hsiuen-thsang confirms the tradition of Nâgârguna having been the friend of Sâtavâhana. When speaking of Kosala (I p 185), he says that at a small distance, south of the town, there was an old monastery built by Asoka, and that later Nâgârguna established himself there, patronized by King Sâtavâhana. He adds that the famous Bodhisattva Deva came from Ceylon to see Nâgârguna and learn from him. In another place (I p 274) Hsiuen-thsang speaks again of Nagarguna as the contemporary of Deva, and alludes to the "Four Suns," Nâgârguna in the West, Deva in the South, Asvaghosha in the East, and Kumâragîva in the North, as if they had lived at the same time. Lastly, he returns more fully to the same subject in vol iii p 95, and we there learn from his translation of the name Sâtavâhana by

In-ching, "he who leads the good," that he probably read the name as Sadvâhana

In conclusion, I may notice two traditions, one, first mentioned by Wilson (Works, vol III p 181), that Satavahana is a synonym of Salivahana, the enemy of Vikramaditya, and another, first noticed by Colebrooke (Misc Essays, II p 89), that Hala, the name of the collector of the 700 popular verses (Saptasatakam), is a known title of Salivahana (see also Weber, Saptasataka, p 2) On the real date of Nâgârjuna, as the contemporary of Kanishka I have touched in my Lectures on "India, what can it teach us?" p 304

I am afraid I have rather wandered away from the chief subject of this notice, but as I and Kasawara had often discussed these questions together, I leave what I have written, hoping that I may soon find time to arrange all the materials which we collected for an edition of the Dharmaśāstra, and to publish them as a lasting monument of my late friend and pupil, Kenjiu Kasawara

Oxford, 5 Nov 1883

F MAX MÜLLER

Note —I have just time to add that the Tibetan translation of Nâgârjuna's letter, which I asked Dr Wenzel to examine for me, gives the King's name as Utrayana, a Tibetan corruption for Udayana (see Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus, übersetzt von Schiefner, p 2, n 2, p 71) This Udayana, as we learn from the same Taranâtha, p 303, was also called Ântivâhana, which Schiefner doubtfully identifies with the Greek name Antiochos, but of which there is a various reading, Sântivâhana (I c p 304) What is most satisfactory is that, according to Târanâtha, Udayana, when a boy, was called Getaka (I c p 303) This shows again the great value of the Tibetan translation of Buddhist texts, which, as a rule, are far superior to the Chinese translations I hope that my young friend, Dr Wenzel, will soon give us some more of the results of his valuable researches in Tibetan literature

BUDDHA

[THE following graceful verses are reprinted by the kind permission of both author and editor, from the *Spectator* of the 15th September, 1883]

Whoe'er hath wept one tear or borne one pain,
 (The Master said and entered into rest)
 Not fearing wrath nor meaning to be blest,
 Simply for love—howbeit wrought in vain—
 Of one poor soul, his brother, being old
 Or sick, or lost through satisfied desire,
 Stands in God's vestibule, and hears his Choir
 Make merry music on their harps of gold

What is it but the seed of Very Love
 To teach sad eyes to smile, mute lips to move?
 And he that for a score of centuries
 Hath lived, and calls a continent his own,
 Giving world-weary souls Heaven's best surprise,
 Halts only at the threshold of the Throne

Adington Park, Croydon

A C BENSON

NOTES AND QUERIES

ON PASSAGES IN THE MAHĀVAGGA.

THE publication of Professor Oldenberg's text of the Vinaya-pitaka may be said to have inaugurated a new era in the systematic study of Pāli. With a text and in part also a translation before us, the first ground is fairly broken, and the time seems to have come when special criticism may profitably be applied to particular passages and phrases of these renowned scriptures.

I have responded to an invitation to publish these few notes in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society, not so much for the importance of the phrases or words that I have attempted to elucidate—though in several cases this is considerable—but rather because I feel that a Society like ours offers very exceptional opportunities for the interchange of opinions embodying something of the characteristic criticism both of the East and of the West.

In Mahāvagga, Bk I Ch 5 ("Brahmayācana kathā") at the end (§ 12) occurs the following gathā

Apārutā tesam amatassa dvārā ye sotavanto
pamuñcantu saddham |

Vihimsasāññī pagunam na bhāsī dhammam
panītam manujesu Brahme 'tī ||

which is thus translated (Max Muller's "Sacred Books of the East," vol. XIII "Vinaya Texts," tr. Davids and Oldenberg, p. 88)

‘Wide opened is the door of the Immortal to all who have ears to hear, let them send forth faith to meet it The Dhamma sweet and good I spake not, Brahmâ, despairing of the weary task, to men’

The first difficulty of this passage is that, at first reading, the Buddha appears to be made to say ‘let men relinquish faith,’ which of course, in this unqualified form at all events, would be as foreign to the spirit of Buddhist, as of Hindu or Christian, teaching To obviate this difficulty, the translators attribute to the verb *pamuñcati* a meaning which I venture to think it will be found hard to substantiate ‘Send forth’ can be easily verified as a meaning for the root, but ‘send forth *to meet*,’ on which the whole point of the rendering depends, is unexampled in either Pâli or Sanskrit dictionaries

On the contrary, among the examples quoted in Bohtlingk and Roth, s v (pra-) muc, the *literal* usages nearest to the sense of ‘send forth’ are passages where the verb is used, (absolutely, as required, without an ablative case) of ‘*emitting*’ a sound or a fluid But such ‘sending forth’ is a very different thing from sending forth a kind of despatch or deputation of welcome, which, I take it, is the meaning that most English readers would attach to the phrase employed

Among the metaphorical usages quoted for *pramuc*, it is curious to observe that in Mahabharata III 10819 we get the diametrically opposite sense of relinquishing sin, in the phrase ‘*saivam pâpam pramokshyasi*’

The question thus naturally arises, how can we modify our rendering of *saddham* so as to suit the ordinary meanings of *pamuñcati*?

The solution that originally suggested itself to me was to take *saddham* as equal not to ‘*śraddham*’ ‘faith’ but to ‘*çrâddham*’ ‘an offering to the Manes’ But as authority for this I have only Childers’s citations from the *Abhidhanappiḍipika*, which is a somewhat late authority for the language of so early a book as the *Mahavagga*. In connexion with this proposal I proceed to the consider-

ation of the first word in the following line, vihimsa-saññī, which I would render 'conscious of the cruelty [of mankind]' It is almost needless to observe how very characteristic of Buddhist thought is such a use of 'cruelty' as typical of all vice or evil, indeed, we may say characteristic of Indian thought in general, comparing passages like Hitopadeca 19, 22 (ed. Sculegel), where we find "dharmacāstram 'ahiṃsa paramo dharma' ity aikamatyam." On this showing, the train of thought would be 'I exhort the understanding few to relinquish the fleshly and often life-destroying observances of the old religion, to the many I have not [as yet] preached, because I am conscious of their cruelty and wickedness.' Doubtless, at any time from the days of Ācvalayana to the present, the *ṣaddha* may well have been selected as one of the most prominent and typical observances of every-day Brahmanism.

I now turn to the explanation of this passage as given in the commentary. As, unfortunately, no English library possesses a Mahāvagga-commentary, I consulted the MS at Paris, and was subsequently favoured by M. Leon Feer, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, with two very kind and interesting letters, from which I extract all that bears on the passage, venturing at the same time, with some regret, to render it into English, that no point may escape our readers in the East. M. Feer writes

"I send herewith the commentary on the stanza of the Brahmayâcanagâthâ according to the Samanta Pasadikâ (commentary on the Mahāvagga), and according to the Sârattha Pakâsinî (commentary on the Samyutta-nikâya), the first represented by two MSS, one Burmese, the other Sinhalese, the second by a single Siamese MS

Aparuta¹ ti vivata || amatassa dvarâ ti ariyamaggo ||
so hi amatasankhâtassa nibbanassa dvaram² || || Pamuñ-
cantu saddhan ti sabbe attano³ saddham pamuñcantu

¹ Aparutanti Sinhalese MS ² dvaram so maya vivarita thamito ti daseti, Siamese ³ attano, Siamese

vissajjentu^{1*} || pacchimapadadvaye ayam attho || || Aham
hi attano pagunam² suppavatti³ imam panītam⁴ uttamam
dhammam⁵ kāyavācākīlamattha saññī hutvā² manujesu de-
vamanussesu nābhāsi⁵ ||

You will see that there are slight differences between the two MSS of the Samanta Pāsādikā, and that the Sarāththa-Pakāsini agrees in effect with the Samanta Pāsādikā, notwithstanding certain differences

There must have existed a various reading for the words pamuñcantu saddham I do not know whether its trace is to be found in the Pāli canon, but the Tibetan version, the Dulva, reveals it to us, for our stanza is found there Now the whole pada is there translated as follows

ñan par	su	hdod	<u>som ñi</u>	sol cig	dan
audire	qui	cupit	dubium	purget	atque
			vel		
			dubia		

Now som-ñi is the ordinary translation of the Sanskrit kânkshâ 'desire,' whose Pāli equivalent kankha is rendered by 'doubt' in Childers Whether we translate 'doubt' or 'desire' in the passage before us, a satisfactory sense is obtained But it is evident in my judgment that the translator of the Dulva had before him a text reading kankham instead of saddham, and a different verb from pamuñcantu It would have been so easy for him to put down dad pa spon jig, or some analogous expression, that the translator must certainly have worked on a text which did not include the word saddham, and it is inadmissible to suppose that he allowed himself to emend the text

I think, then, that there are one or more various readings for this pada, only, it would be interesting to discover their trace in Pāli literature Now, all that we know, whether text or commentary, gives us the reading pamuñcantu

^{1*} Om Burm, °jjantu, Siam ² ² suppavattim pi imam panitam
uttamadharmak³ °attham saññitā hu°, Sinh ⁴ Sampavattitam pi, Siam
⁴ uttamadh°, Siam ⁵ °vācākīlapatha saññī hutvā na bhāsi, Siam

saddham, as adopted without dispute, only, this reading is a little troublesome to interpret

I now call your attention to a stanza in *Lalitā-vistara*, Bk xxv, which corresponds with that before us. It runs thus in the edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica* [p 520]

apāvritās teshām amṛitaśya dvāra
Brahmann itī satatam ye crotavantah |¹
praviçanti çraddha na vibethasāñjña
çrinvantī dharmam Magadheshu sattvah |

The last pada has one syllable too few, and the MSS [at Paris] have between the two last pada, i.e. between vibethasāñjña and çrinvantī, the letters npūnah,² which are embarrassing. But with this difficulty I am not at present concerned, turning rather to the consideration of the words praviçanti çraddhā, which correspond to pamuñcantu saddham in the Pali. In the edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica*, çraddhā is interpreted in a foot-note by çraddhāvāntah. But we might read çraddhām, or again praviçantu and çrinvantu. Whatever be the conclusion, I direct your attention to this passage, and would further note that the Tibetan translation, which here lacks its usual exactness, and especially disturbs the order of the padas (a tolerably frequent occurrence), unites into a single (Tibetan) pada the Sanskrit words crotavantah praviçanti çraddhā. It thus renders them

rna-ba	ldan	jīn	dad-pa	ldan	gyurla
aures	habentes	et	fidem	habentes	facti
crotavantah (praviçanti) çraddhā					

The Tibetan version does not authorize the correction of praviçanti to praviçantu, but it gives no indication for or against that of çraddhā to çraddham. It interprets 'having faith,' without giving a special translation of the word *praviçanti*. The writer may perhaps have read *prabhavanti*, and have intended to represent that word by *gyur-la* in the translation

¹ crotavantah, Cambridge MSS

² punah, Camb MSS

I believe that the compiler of the *Lalita-vistara* corrected the text of the *Vinaya*, or else selected a stanza which it had been proposed to substitute for that of the *Vinaya*. I consider the Tibetan text as a *various reading*, or—which amounts to the same thing—a *very ancient emendation* of the text of the *Mahavagga*. The text of the *Lalita-vistara* I regard as a later various reading, *ie* as an *emendation* properly so-called, which arose from the difficulties of interpretation.”

The field of criticism opened to us by this most suggestive letter is very large

One point, however, seems to come out clearly amid the curious perplexities of the passage, namely, that we have before us the remnant, at all events, of an early and widely diffused utterance of Buddhist teaching, a simple and striking metaphor which one would fain attribute to Gotama himself. This consideration may serve to excuse the development of what was originally intended as a short note into a somewhat lengthy excursus

First, then, with regard to the Sanskrit of the *Lalita-vistara*,¹ it seems to me that the variation from the Pāli is due, in part at least, to a cause different from either of those suggested by M. Feer

In the same chapter, at p. 517 of the printed text, we get, at the beginning of a long passage of verse, the following gatha

vado babhūva samalair² vicintito
 dharmo hv acuddho³ Magadheshu pūrvam |
 amṛitam mune tad vivrinishva dvāram
 erinvanti dharmavipulam⁴ vimalena buddham ||

I think, then, that the gatha first quoted is a deliberate *adaptation* from the Pāli, suggested by the language, particularly by the image of ‘opening the door of amṛita’ in

¹ As to the importance of this book in connexion with the study of Pāli, it is hardly necessary to refer to Prof. Oldenberg's most interesting paper in the *Verhandlungen* of the Congress of Orientalists at Berlin, 1881 (II. ii. p. 115).
 See also Cambridge MSS

no vicuddho, *ibid*

⁴ dharmam vi², *ibid*

the verse (just cited) which had preceded, itself probably founded on the original form of our Pālī gāthā or some saying closely resembling it

This supposition will account for the presence of the three words *ṣṛinvanti dharmam Magadhesu*, which are represented in the other Sanskrit verse, but are not in the Pālī, and form, in fact, the chief discrepancy between the Sanskrit and Pālī

Unfortunately, the Sanskrit passages, though interesting in themselves, give us no direct help for the interpretation of our chief crux, *pamuñcantu saddham*. It may be observed, however, that the adjective *viñethasaññā* has the ordinary and literal sense, which I would assign to *viñimsasaññā*, in contradistinction to the metaphorical meaning given by the translators, and apparently by the Pālī commentary, though it is in agreement with a different noun¹

Returning now to the question of more strictly Pālī

¹ Possibly, too, *saññā* has acquired the meaning noted by M. Senart for *saññā* (Mahāvastu, p. 370)

I add here a few observations on the passages of the Lalita vistara concerning points that have less bearing on the Pālī text

The metrical difficulty in *ṣṛinvanti* may perhaps be solved by reading or pronouncing *ṣṛinuvanti* as if the root ended in a consonant. In the phrase *praviṣanti ṣṛaddha*, I have no doubt that *ṣṛaddha* is for *ṣṛaddhaya*. Compare the Vedic usage, e.g. *dharā* for *dharayā* in Rig. ix. 98. 2 and the analogous forms for the locative feminine in am in this gāthā dialect e.g. *ratnabhūṣitām* for *ṣṭayām* cited by Dr. E. Müller in his paper in A. Kuhn's *Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachforschung* viii. 274

With regard to the ancient versions, the kind help of Prof. Douglas has enabled me to consult the two Chinese works stated to be translations of the Lalita-vistara. The older of the two (No. 160 in Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue) turns out to be not a translation of the Sanskrit text as known to us. The division into chapters is different, and the correspondences of language are only occasional. A case like this should put us on our guard in accepting the statements of Chinese works such as that cited by Mr. Nanjio as to supposed translations from the Sanskrit. The second Chinese version (No. 169) of the seventh century A.D. though it represents fairly well the Sanskrit of Chapter xvi, curiously enough substitutes a different verse for the gāthā beginning *apavritā*, but translates that beginning *vado babhūva*. Whether this substitution points to the existence of a text anterior to the *adaptation* I have supposed, or is simply due to the difficulty of the verse, it is of course, hard to say.

As to the other version the Tibetan, I will only call the attention of those who may consult Foucaux's Tibetan text and French translation to the word in the next line *rtag tu*, which seems to represent the Sanskrit *satatam*, though the French does not show this.

criticism above raised, I note first that the commentary takes *pamuñcantu*, in its ordinary sense of 'relinquish,' but seems to understand the whole phrase as equivalent to 'let all relinquish the faith that each feels in his own religion' I confess that this, if I rightly interpret it, seems to me somewhat strained, and I see no sense to be got by connecting *attano* as an ablative with *vissajjentu*

To M Feer's note on the Tibetan word *som-ni*, which I have not been able to verify, I will only add a suggestion that it *kankham* was before the Tibetan translator, the immediate stage between the two readings may have been the form *sankam*, which approximates to the one word in meaning and to the other in form

I conclude this note, already too far extended, I fear, by a request that if any reader of this Journal can cite any further authority for *saddha*=*grâddha*, he will make it known For I cannot but think that this interpretation, if it can be substantiated, gives the sense that is at once the most simple and the most consistent and harmonious

Mahavagga I 13, §1 *yonisomanasikâra* Can any member of the society offer any explanation of the usage of *yoniso* so as to trace it to an intelligible derivation? The account in Childers s v is not very satisfactory Cf Senart, *Mahâv p* 371

I 15, §6 *Ingha tvam anujânâhi agyâgâran* = "Come now, you grant me " This use of *ingha* (=agedum) suggests a derivation from the Sanskrit *anga*, which occurs as an emphatic vocative particle in Pânini and early Sanskrit, and likewise in Buddhist Sanskrit, e g in the *Lankavatara*, ch 1, leaf 9b 5 of the R A S MS, "*Kim anga punar dharmâdharmayoh viçesho na bhavati? Bhavatyeva* " For the sound-changes it will suffice to refer to instances given in Kuhn's *Beitrage zur Pali Grammatik* Thus we have *i* from *a* before *ng* in *mutinga* for Sansk *mridanga*, for the aspiration, which is rarer for soft than for hard consonants, *singhâto* and *singhâtakam*, corresponding to the Sansk *grîngâta*

I 22, §16 *Bimbisârassa etad aho si kattha bhagavâ*

vihareyya, yam assa divā appākinnam rattim appa-
saddam appanigghosam vijanavātam manussarāhaseyyakam
patisallānasāruppam

This is translated (Vinaya Texts, I 143) 'Where may I find a place for the Blessed One to live in by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to much noise and alarm, clean of the smell of men, well fitted for a retired life?'

Though, for the sake of convenience, I have quoted the context, it is of the interpretation of the word vijanavātam only that I would speak. Like Drs Davids and Oldenberg, I understand this compound to refer to the atmosphere of the Buddha's proposed dwelling, but I analyze its parts differently. They clearly *construe*, so to say, vi- 'without,' jana-vāta 'people-air,' i.e. 'the polluted air of crowded or frequented places.' The notion conveyed in the last expression is familiar enough to those who, like myself, are engaged in large public institutions, but I doubt whether, if this was what the compiler of this early text intended, he would have expressed it by a compound so bald and liable to misconstruction as jana-vāta.

I therefore propose to divide the word not vi-janavāta, but vijana-vāta, and translate accordingly, 'having its air from an unfrequented place,' or 'breathing the wind of the wilderness.'

The meaning thus obtained does not differ widely from that of the published translation (and I trust the learned translators will not consider me hypercritical for calling attention to it), but it seems to me to yield slightly better sense, and likewise to be in far better accordance with the analogy of such compounds. To illustrate the use of each member of the compound as I divide it, I cite a couple of examples taken from Bohtlingk and Roth (1) malaya-vāta 'wind from Malaya,' Vikramorvaçī, 25, where vāta is used at the end of an ablatival compound, (2) vijanasevin, Kathāsaritsāgara, 7,195, where vijana is used substantively as the first member of a compound.

KHUDDASIKKHÂ AND MÛLASIKKHÂ

EDITED BY

DR. EDWARD MULLER

THE Khuddasikkhâ and Mûlasikkhâ form a short compendium of the Vinaya, mostly in verse, a few passages only being given in prose. The MSS. of the same are all written in the Burmese character, and there is also a Burmese edition which comprises the Bhikkhupatimokkha, the Bhikkhunipâtimokkha and the Abhidhammatthasamgraha, printed at Rangoon in 1882, we possess, however, a Sinhalese commentary belonging to the twelfth century, which proves that the books must have been known in Ceylon at that time.

About the age of the books it is very difficult to form a certain opinion. The language is rather more modern than that of the Mahavamsa, and exigencies of the metre have introduced forms which are anything but classical, for instance, the optative *de* from *da*, the metathesis *havampeva* for *paccavaram*, III 5, and the frequent elision of a beginning vowel after anusvara, which only occurs in late texts (see Childers, s.v. *peyyâlam*, and J.R.A.S. vol. xi p. 112). The language is, however, not so artificial and not mixed with Sanskritisms to such an extent as that of the Dathavamsa.

Alwis, in his introduction to the Sîdât Sangarâwa, p. cl, assigns a rather early date to Khuddasikkhâ and Mûlasikkhâ, viz. A.D. 350, but without any sufficient reasons. It seems that the language of the Sinhalese commentary has misled him, a language only little more modern than that of the rock inscription of Mihintale (see my Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, No. 121), the date of which Alwis, following Turnour (Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 137), has fixed in A.D. 262. It was, however, already shown by Paul

Goldschmidt that this cannot be correct, and that the inscription belongs to Mahinda III at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century

The question about the age of Khuddasikkhâ and Mûlasikkhâ is, of course, quite independent from that about the commentary, and so we may still consider the statement from the Burmese histories of the Pitaka adduced by Forchhammer in his Report, p 5, that a Sinhalese priest, by name Dhamma Siri, wrote the Mûlasikkhâ, and a confrere Mahâsâmi the Khuddasikkhâ, about 920 years after Gautama's death. In fact, the name of the author of Khuddasikkhâ is given as Dhammasiri in the last stanza but one

tena Dhammasirîkena Tambapanniyaketunâ
therena racitâ dhammavinayaññupasamsita

Under these circumstances, I must leave it undecided * the present whether the date as given by Alwis and Forchhammer is correct, or whether we should in fixing it consider the language, which rather points to the sixth or seventh century. I will only mention besides that both works are referred to in the great inscription of Parâkramabâhu at the Galwihâra, Polonnaruwa (see my Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, No 137), in lines 19 and 22, and that the great grammarian Moggallâna, living at the same time, is said to have written a tîkā on Khuddasikkhâ, which may have been the base of the Sinhalese commentary still in existence (see Note on the Pâli Grammarian Kaccâyana, by Lieut-Col G E Fryer, in his Subodhâlanakâra, p 4)

At the end of the text will be found a comparative list of passages in Khuddasikkhâ and Mûlasikkhâ on one side and Oldenberg's Vinaya on the other. In spite of a careful investigation, I have not succeeded in identifying all the passages of the two texts given here, and I am driven to the conclusion that these passages are not contained in the text of the Vinaya, but are taken from the commentaries. In a few cases I have succeeded in identifying passages from Samanta Pâsâdikâ and Kankhâ Vitaranî with the help of the quotations given in Minayeff's edition of the Pâtimokkha.

KHUDDASIKKHĀ.

NAVO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMASAMBUDDHASSA

Mâtikā

- 1 Âdīto upasampannā sikkhitabbam samâtīkam
khuddasikkham pavakkhāmi vandītvā ratanattayam
- 2 Pârājikā ca cattāro garukā navacīvaram
rajanani ca patto ca thālakā ca pavāranā
- 3 Kālīka ca patiggāho mamsesu ca akappiyam
nissaggiyāni pācitti samanā kappabhūmiyo
- 4 Upajjhāceravattāni vaccapassāvathānikam
āpucchakaranam naggo nhānakappo avandiyo
- 5 Cammam upahanā ceva anolokiyam añjanī
akappiyasayanāni samānāsāniko pi ca
- 6 Asamvāsiko ca kammam micchā jīvavivajjanā
vattam vikappanā ceva nissayo kāyabandhanam
- 7 Patnavī ca parikkhāro bhesajjuggahadūsanam
vassūpanāyikā cevāvebhangiyam pakinnakam
- 8 Desanā chandadānādī uposathappavāranā
samvaro suddhi santoso caturakkhā vipassanā tī

I Pârājikā ca cattāro tī

- 1 Maggattaye anikkhitta sikkho santhatasanthate
alokāse nimittamsam tīlamattam pi santhatam
- 2 Asanthatamupādānnam pavesanto cuto 'thavā
pavesanathituddhāra pavitthakkhanasādako
- 3 Âdiyeyya hareyya vā hareyya iriyāpatham
kopeyya thānā cāveyya samketam vītīnāmāye

- 4 Adinnam theyyacittena bhavê pârâjiko 'thavâ
theyyâ balaḥsusacchanna parikkappavaharako
- 5 Bhandakâlagghadesehi paribhoge tha nicchayo
manussaviggaham cicca jîvitâ va viyojaye
- 6 Sattham vâ assa maranacetano upanikkhiṇe
gâheyya maranûpajam vadeyya marane gunam
- 7 Cuto payogâ sâhatthi nissagganatti thâvarâ
iddhivijjâmayâ kâlavatthâvudhivijjâpathâ
- 8 Kriyaviseso okâso cha ânattiniyâmakâ
jhanâdibheda no santam attanattupanâvikam
- 9 Katvâ kothâsam ekekam paccuppannabhavassitam
aññapadesarahitam dîpento nâdhimaniko
kâyena vâcâ viññatti pathe ñâte cuto bhavê
- 10 Pârâjikete cattâro asamvâsâ yathâ pure
abhabbâ bhikkhubhâvâya sîsacchinno va jîvitum
- 11 Pariyâyo ca ânatti tatiye dutiye pana
ânatti yeva sesesu dvayam etam na labbhati
- 12 Sevetukâmatâ cittam magge maggappavesanam
imam methunadhammassa âhu angadvayam budhâ
- 13 Manussasanthatâ saññi theyyacittam ca vatthuno
garukâ avahâro ca adinnâdanahetuyo
- 14 Pâno manussako pânasaññitâghâtacetanâ
payogo tena maranam pañcete vadhahetuyo
- 15 Asanthatâ attani pâpamicchâtâ jâ rocanâ tassa manussajâ
titâ
naññappadeso ca tadeva jânanam pañcettha angâni
asantadîpane
- 16 Asâdhâranâ cattâro bhikkhunînam abhabbatâ
ekâdasa ca vibbhantâ bhikkhunî mudupitthiko
- 17 Lambimukhena ganhanto angajâtam parassa ca
tatthevâbhiniśidanto cattâro anulomikâ
- 18 Magge maggappavesanâ methunassa idhâgatâ
cattâro ti catubbisa samodhânâ pârâjikâ ti.

II Garukâ navâ ti

- 1 Mocetukâmatâ sukkassupakkamma vimocayam
aññatra supinantena samano garukam phuse
- 2 Itthisaññi manussitthim kâyasamsaggarâgavâ

- samphusanto upakkamma samano garukam phuse
 3 Tathâ sunanti viññam ca maggam vârabha methunam
 dutthullavâcâ râgena obhâsento garum phuse
 4 Vatvattakâmutthânavannam methunarâgino
 vâcâ methunayuttana garum methunayâcane
 5 Patiggahetvâ sandesam itthiyâ purisassa vâ
 vimamsitvâ haram paccâ samano garukam phuse
 6 Samyâcitaparikkhâram katvâ desita vatthukam
 kutim pamanâtikantam attuddesam garum phuse
 7 Mahallakam vihâram vâ katvâ desitavatthukam
 attano vasanattthâya samano garukam phuse
 8 Amûlakena codento codâpento ca vatthunâ
 antimena ca câvetum sunamânam garum phuse
 9 Aññassa kiriyam disvâ thenalesena codayam
 vatthunâ antimenaññam câvetum garukam phuse
 10 Châdeti jânam âpannam parivaseyya tâvatâ
 careyya sanghe mânattam parivuttho cha rattayo
 cinnamânattam abbheyya tam sangho vîsatiggano
 11 Âpattinukkhittam anantarâya pahuttatâyo tathâ saññi-
 tâ ca
 châdetukamo atha châdanâ ti channâ dasangehyaru-
 nuggamamhi ti

III Cîvaran ti

- 1 Khomakoseyyakappâsasânabhangâni kambalam
 kappiyâni chaletâni sânulomâni jâtito
- 2 Dukûlañ ceva pattunnapatisomâracînajam
 iddhijam devadînnanîca tasso tassânulomikam
- 3 Ticîvaram parikkhâracolam vassikasâtikam
 adhitthe na vikappeyya mukhapuñchanisîdanam
- 4 Paccattharanakam kanducchâdîm ettha ticîvaram
 navaseyyavînekâham câtumâsam nisîdanam
- 5 Imam sanghâtîm dhittthâmi sanghâtîm iccadhitthake
 ahatthapâsam etan ti sesesu pi ayan nayo
- 6 Adhitthahanto sanghâtî pabhûti pubbacîvaram
 paccuddharitvâdhitttheyya pattâdhittthahane tathâ
- 7 Etam imam 'va sanghâtîm samse paccuddharâmiti
 evam sabbâni nâmena vatvâ paccuddhare vidû

- 8 Sanghâti pacchimantena dīghaso mutthipaṇcako
uttamantena sugatacīvarūnāpi vattati
- 9 Mutthittikan ca tīriyam tathā ekamsikassa pi
antaravāsako cāpi dīghaso mutthipaṇcako
- 10 Addhateyyo dvihattho vā tīriyantena vattati
nisīdanassa dīghena vidatthi dve pi salato
- 11 Dīyaddham dasā vidatthi sugatassa vidatthiya
kanduppatichādikassa tīriyam dve vidatthiyo
- 12 Dīghan tato catasso vā sugatassa vidatthiya
vassikasātikāya pi dīghaso cha vidatthiyo
- 13 Tīriyam addhateyyo 'va sugatassa vidatthiyā
ettha chedanapācitti karontassa tad uttari
- 14 Paccatharamukhacolā ākankhitappamānikā
parikkhāracole gaṇanā pamānam vā na dīpitam
- 15 Tathā vatvā adhittheyya thavikādim vīkappiyam
ahatāhatakappānam sanghāti dīgunā sīya
- 16 Ekacciyyottarasango tathā antaravāsako
utuddhatanam dussānam sanghāti ca catuggunā
- 17 Bhaveyyum dīgunā sesā pamsukūle yatharuci
tīsu dve vāpi ekam vā chinditabbam pahoti yam
- 18 Sabhesu appahontesu anvādhim ādīyeyya va
achinnam ca anadinnam na dhāreyya ticīvaram
- 19 Gāme nivesane uddositapāsādahammiye
nāvattamālaārāme satthakhettakhale dume
- 20 Ajjhokāse vihāre vā nikkhīpivā ticīvaram
bhikkhusammutiyaññātra vippavatthum na vattati
- 21 Rogavassapariyantā kanducchādikasātikā
tato param vīkappeyya sesā apariyantikā
- 22 Paccattharaparikkhāramukhapuñchanacolakam
dasam pyarattanādīnna kappam labbham nisīdanam
- 23 Adasam rajitam yeva sesa cīvarapaṇcakam
kappatādinnakappam va sadāsam va nisīdanam
- 24 Anadhitthita nissattham kappētvā paribhuñjaye
batthadīghan tatopaddhavitthāraṇ ca vīkappiyam
- 25 Ticīvarassa bhikkhussa sabbam etam pakāsitam
parikkhāracoliyo sabbam tathā vatvā adhitthahi
- 26 Acchedavissajjanagāhavibbhamā paccuddharo mārana-
lingasikkhā

sabbesvadhitt'hana viyogakaranā nibbiddhachiddaṇ ca
ticivarassa pi

- 27 Kusavakaphalakanī kambalam kesavālam
thullaccavam dhārayato 'lukapakkhāṇakkhiṇe
kadaleraḥakkadusse potthake capi dukkatam
- 28 Sabbanīlakamañjetthapitalohitakanhake
maharangamahānāmarangaratte tīrītake
- 29 Acchinnadighadasake phalapupphadase tathā
kañcuke vethane sabbam labhati chinnaśīvaro ti

IV Rājanāni cāti

- 1 Mūlakkhandhatacapattaphalapupphappabhedato
rajanāni chabbidhanī anuññātāni satthunā
- 2 Mūle haliddim khandhe ca mañjetthatungāhārake
allim nīhī ca pattesu tace loddāṇ ca kandulam
kusumbham kimsukam pupphe sabbam labbham viśajjī-
jā ti

V Patto cāti

- 1 Ayopatto bhūmipatto jātiyā kappiyā duve
ukkattho majjhimo ceva omako ca pamānato
- 2 Ukkattho māgadhanā dvayatandulasādhitam
ganhati odanam sūpam byañjanañca tadūpiyam
- 3 Majjhimo tassupaddho 'va tatopaddho 'va omako
ukkatthato ca ukkattho apatto omakomato
- 4 Atirekapatto dhāreyya dasāhaparamamsako
kappo nissaggiyo hoti tasmim kāle 'tīnāmīte
- 5 Acchedadanagāhehi vibbhamā maranuddhatā
lingasikkhā hi chiddena patto 'dhitthanam ujjhati
- 6 Pattam na ppatisameyya sodakam na ca otape
unhena niddahe bhūmyā na thape no ca laggaye
- 7 Mīdhante paribhandante ange vā ātapattake
pādesu mañcapithe vā thapetum na ca kappati
- 8 Na nīhareyya ucchitthe dakaṇ ca calakatthikam
pattena pattahattho vā kapātam na ppanāmāye
- 9 Bhummi ādhārake dāru dandādhāresu sajjite
duve patte thaṇṇeṇvekam nikkujjivāna bhummiyam
- 10 Dāru rūpiyasovanna maniveluriyāmayā

kamsakâ ca tipusisaphalikâ tambalohajā

- 11 Chavasīsamajā câpi ghatitumbakatahaja
pattâ akappiyâ sabbe vuttâ dukkatavatthukâ tī

VI Thalākā cati

- 1 Kappiyâ thālākā tisso tambayomattikamavā
dârusovannarajatamanivelurivamava
2 Akappa phalikākā ca kamsaja gihisantaka
samghika kappiya tumbaghatijā tāvakalika tī

VII Pavāna ti

- 1 Yeniriyāpathenāyam bhuñjamāno pavārīto
tato aññena bhuñjeyya pācittī natirittakam
2 Asanam bhojanañceva abbhāro samipatā
kāyavācā patikkhepo pañcaanga pavarana
3 Odano sattukummaso maccho mamsam ca bhojanam
sālī vīhi yavo kangu kudrūsavaragodhumā
4 Sattannam esam dhaññānam odano bhojjayagu ca
sāmakādī tinam kudrusakevaraka corako
5 Varake saliyāñ ceva nivarō samgaham gato
bhatthadhaññamayo sattu kummaso yavasambhavo
6 Mamso ca kappiyo vutto maccho udakasambhavo
bhuñjanto bhojanam kappamakappam vā nisedhayam
7 Vāritobbhīhatam kappam tam nāmena imā tī vā
lājā tam sattubhattāni goraso suddhakhajjako
8 Tandulā bhatthapīthāñ ca puthuka veluādīnam
bhattam vuttāvasesānam rasayāgurasopi ca
9 Suddhayāguphalādīni na janenti pavāranam
pavārītena vutthāya abhuttēna ca bhojanam
10 Atirittam na katabbam yena yam vā purekatam
kappiyam gahitāñ cevuccāritam hatthapāsagam
atirittam karontevam alam etam tī bhāsatu
11 Na kare 'nupasampannahatthagam pesayitvāpi
kāretum labhate sabbo bhuñjitum tam akārako tī

VIII Kālīkā cati

- 1 Patiggahitvā cattāro kālīkā yāvakālīkam
yāmakālīkam sattāhakālīkam yāvajīvikam

- 2 Pittham mûlam phalam khajjam goraso dhaññabhojanam
yâgu sūpappabhūtaṃ hontete yāvakālīkā
- 3 Madhumuddikasāluka cocamocambujambujam*
pharusam naggisantattam pānakam yāmakālīkam
- 4 Sanulomāṇi dhaññāṇi thapetvā phalajo raso
madhūkapupphā aññatra sabbo puppharaso pi ca
- 5 Sabbapattaraso ceva thapetvā pakkadākajam
sītodamadditodicca pāko vayāmakālīko
- 6 Sappi nonītatelāṇi madhu phāṇitam eva ca
sattahakālīkā sappi yesam mamsam avāritam
- 7 Telam tilavaseranda madhu sāsapasambhavam
khuddabhamara madhukari makkhikāhi katam madhu
- 8 Rasādi uccuvikati pakkāpakkā ca phāṇitam
savatthu pakka samam vā vassakāle amanusā
- 9 Aññesam na pace vatthum yāvakālīkavatthukam
haliddim singiveraṇ ca vacattham lasunam pacā
- 10 Usiram bhaddamuttaṇ cātivīsam katurohinī
pañca mûladikaṇ capi mûlam tam yāvajīvikam
- 11 Vilangamaricam gothaphalam pippalirājikā
tiphalerandakādīnam phalam tam yāvajīvikam
- 12 Kappasanimbakutajapatolasulasadinam
sūpeyyapannam vajjetva pannam tam yāvajīvikam
- 13 Mulam saram taco pheggu phalam pannam puppham lata
ahārattham asadhentam sabbam tam yāvajīvikam
- 14 Sabbakalīkasambhogo kale sabbassa kappati
satī paccaye vikale kappate kālīkattayam
- 15 Kalasāmatikkantā pācittim janayantubho
janayanti ubho pete antovuttaṇ ca sannīdhim
- 16 Sattanakālīke satta aññāṇi atināmite
pacitti palīnarūlhe sappi-ādīmhī dukkatam
- 17 Nissattham laddham makkheyya nangam najjhoha-
reyva ca
vikappentassa sattāhe sāmanerassādhītthato
- 18 Makkhanādiṇ canapatti aññassa dadato pi ca
yāvakālīkā ādīni samsatthāni sahattānā
- 19 Gāhāpayanti sabbhavam tasmā evamudīritam
pure patiggahitāṇ ca sattāham yāvajīvikam
- 20 Sesakalīkasammissam pācitti paribhuñjato

- yāvakālikasammissam itaram kālīkattayam
 21 Patiggahītam tadahu tadaheva ca bhuñjaye
 yāmakālikasammissam sesam evam vijāṇīyam
 sattāhakālīmissaṇ ca sattāham kappatetaram ti

IX Patiggaho ti

- 1 Dātukāmābhīhāro ca hatthapāseranakkhamam
 tidhā dente dvidhā gāho pañcangem patiggahc
- 2 Asamhāre tattha jāte sukhume ciñca ādinam
 panne vā sayhabhāre ca patiggaho na rūhati
- 3 Sikkhāmaranalingehi anapekkhavisaggato
 acchedanupasampanna dānāgāhopasammati
- 4 Appatiggahītam sabbam pācitti paribhuñjato
 suddhaṇ ca nātībahalam kappate udakam tathā
- 5 Angalaggam avicchinnam dantakkhikappagūthakam
 lonassukhelasinghānam semhamuttakarīsakam
- 6 Gūthamattukamuttāni chārīkaṇ ca tathāvidhe
 sāmam gahetvā seveyya asante kappakārake
- 7 Durūpacinne rajokinne attuggahapatiggahe
 antovutthe antopakke sāmam pakke ca dukkatan ti

X Mamsesu ca akappiyan ti

- 1 Manussahatthiassanam mamsam sunakhadīpinam
 sīhabyagghataracchānam acchassa uragassa ca
- 2 Uddissakatamamsaṇ ca yaṇ ca appativekkhitam
 thullaccayam manussanam mamse sesesu dukkatam
- 3 Atthi pi lohītam cammam lomam esam na kappatī
 sacittakam va uddissa katam sesam acittakan ti

XI Nissaggiyani ti

- 1 Arūpiyam rūpiyena rūpiyam itarena ca
 rūpiyam parivatteyya nissaggi idha rūpiyam
- 2 Kahapano sajjhūsingī chārūpagamasakam
 vatthamuttādi itaram kappam dukkatavattthu ca
- 3 Imam gahetvā bhutvāva imam dehi karanaya
 demī vātīsamapanne nissaggikayavikkaye
- 4 Attano aññato lābham sanghassaññassa vā natam
 parinameyya nissaggi pacitti capi dukkatam

- 5 Anissajjitvâ nissaggim paribhuñje na deyva vâ
nissattham sakasaññâya dukkatam aññatthetān tī

XII Pacittitī

- 1 Musâvâdomasavâde pesuññaharane tathâ
padaso dhammasâgârâ ujjhapanakakhiyane
- 2 Talasattī anâdarakukkuccuppâdanesu ca
gâmappavesanâpucchâ bhojane ca paramparâ
- 3 Anuddharitvâ gamane seyyam senasanâni vâ
itthiyaddhânagamane ekekayanisîdane
- 4 Bhimsâpanâkotana-aññavâde
vihesadutthullapakâsacchâde
hâsodake nicchubhane vihârâ
pâcittī vuttânupakhajjasaye tī

XIII Samanakkappa tī

- 1 Bhûtagâmasamârambhe pâcittī katakappiyam
nakkena vâggisaṭṭhehi bhava samanakkappiyam
- 2 Samûlakhandhabîjaggaphalubîjappabhâvato
ârambhe dukkatam bîjam bhûtagamaviyojitam
- 3 Nibbattabîjam no bîjamakatam cāpi kappatī
katâhabandhabîjâni bahiddhâ vāpi kârāye
- 4 Ekâbaddhesu bîjesu bhâjane vāpi bhûmiyam
kate ca kappiyekasmim sabbesveva katam bhava
- 5 Nikkhitte kappiyam katvâ mûlapannâni jârayum
kappiyam puna kâreyya bhûtagâmo hi so tadâ
- 6 Sapanno vâ apanno vâ sevâlodakasambhavo
cetiyaḍḍisu sevâlo nikkhantadvittipattako
- 7 Bhûtagâmo va bîjam pi mûlapanne viniggate
ghatâdi pitthasevâlo makulam ahichattakam
- 8 Dukkatasseva vatthûni phullam abyavahârikam
lâkhânivyâsachattâni allarukkhe vikopiya
- 9 Ganhato tattha pâcittī chindato vāpi akkharam
pîletum nâlikarâdīm dârumakkatakâdinâ
- 10 Chinditum gandikam kâtum tinâdīm na ca kappatī
bhûtagâmam vâ bîjam vâ chinda bhindocinâhi vâ
- 11 Phâlehi vijjhupacavâ niyametvâ na bhâsaye
imam karohi kappiyam imam ganhedam âhara
imam dehi imam sodhehevam vattatī bhâsitun tī

XIV Bhummiyo ti

- 1 Sammutussâvanantâ ca gonisâdi gahappati
kappiyâ bhummiyo yâsu vuttham pakkañ ca kappati
- 2 Vasatthava kate gehe sanghike vekasantake
kappiyakuti laddhabbâ sahasev appahonake
- 3 Gehe sanghassa vekassa karamânevam irayam
patthamitthakalambhadim thapeyyussâvanantika
- 4 Kappiyakutim karoma kappiyakutim karomati
yebhuy yenâparikkhitto ârâmo sakalo pi vâ
- 5 Vuccati gonisaditi sammuti sanghasammata
bhikkhum thapetva aññehi dinno tesam vasantako
- 6 Attha, a kappakutiyâ geha gahapatim ato
akappakutiyâ vuttha sappiâdîhi missitam
- 7 Vajeva antovutthattam purimam kâlîka dvayam
teheva bhikkhunâ pakkam kappate yâvajîvikam
- 8 Nîrâmisam va sattâham sâmise sâmapakatâ
ussâvanantikâjehi thambhâdîhi adhitthitâ
- 9 Tesu jevâpanîtesu tadanñhesu pi titthati
bhabbesu apanitesu bhava jahitavattthukâ
gonisâdi parikkhitte sesâ chadanavibbhamâ ti

XV Upajjhaceraattanti

- 1 Nissâyupajjhâcariye vasamâno supesalo
dantakatthâsanam toyam yâgum kâlê dade sada
- 2 Patte vattam care gâmappavese gamanâgame
âsane padapîthe ca kathalopâhanacivare
- 3 Bhojanîyapânîyesu vaccappasâvathanîsu
vihârasodhane vattam puna paññâpane tathâ
- 4 Na pappotheyya sodhento pativâte ca p' angane
vihâram bhikkhupânîya sâmantha sayanasanam
- 5 Nhane nhatassa kâtabbam rangapâke ca dhovane
sibbane civare theve rajanto na vaje thito
- 6 Ekaccassa anâpucchâ pattam vâ civarâni vâ
na dadeyya na ganheyya parikkhârâñ ca kiñcanam
- 7 Ekaccam pacchato kâtum gantum vâ kassî pacchato
pindapatam ca ninnetum niharapetum attano
- 8 Kiccayam parikkammam vâ kesacchedhî ca attano
kârâpetum vâ katum vâ anâpucchâ na vattati

- 9 Gâmam susânanissîmam disam vâ gantum icchato attano kiccayam vâpi anapucchâ na vattatî
- 10 Uppannam aratim ditthim kukkuccam vâ vinodaye kareyya vâpi ussukkam sanghayattesu kammesu
- 11 Gilâne ca supattheyya vutthânâmesam âgame vattabhedena sabbattha anâdarena dukkatan ti

XVI Vaccapassâvathânikan ti

- 1 Na kareyya yathâvuddham vaccam yâthânupubbiyâ vaccapassâvakutiyo nhânatittham ca labbhati
- 2 Paviseyyubbhajitvâ no sahasâ paviseyya ca ukkâsitvâ vubbhajeyya pâdukâsveva santhito
- 3 Na kare nitthunam vaccam dantakattham ca khâdayam vaccapassâvadoninam na kareyyubhayam bahi
- 4 Kûpe kattham na pâteyya khelam passâvadoniyâ nâvalekheyya pharuse nûhatañ câpi dhovaye
- 5 Na nikkhameyya sahasâ vubbhajitvâ na nikkhame capu capu nâcameyya uklâpañ ca visodhaye ti

XVII Âpucchakurûnan ti

- 1 Anajjhittô va therena pâtimokkham na uddise dhammam na kathaye pañham na pucche na ca vissaje
- 2 Âpucchitvâ kathentassa punavuddhatarâgame puna âpucchanaṃ natthi bhattagge cānumodato
- 3 Vasanto ca anâpucchâ vuddhenekavihârake na sajjhâyeyya uddesam paripuccham va no dade
- 4 Dhammam na bhâsaye dîpam na kare na ca vijjhaye vâtapânam kavâtam vâ vivareyya thakeyya ca
- 5 Cankame cankamanto pi vuddhe na parivattaye yena vuddho sa sanghâtî kannenenam na ghattaye ti

XVIII Naggo ti

- 1 Naggo maggam vaje bhuñje pive khade na sâyaye na ganhe na dade neva vande vandapayeyya vâ
- 2 Parikammam na kâreyya na kare paticchâdisu parikamme duve vattâchâdî sabbatthakappiyâ ti

XIX Nhana kappo ti

- 1 Na ca nhāyeyya therānam purato pari vā tathā
dadeyya otarantānam maggam uttaramānako
- 2 Kuddathambhatarutthāne nhāyamāno na ghamsaye
kāvagandhabbahatthena kuravindakasuttiya
- 3 Mallakenaññamaññam va sarīrena na ghamsaye
kapālittakakhandani vatthavaddhi ca vattati
- 4 Sabbesam puthupani ca gilānassākatamallakam
pāsanaphenakathala kappanti pādaghamsane ti

XX Avandiyo ti

- 1 Ukkhittānūpasampanna nānāsamvāsaitthiyo
navo ca garukattho ca pandako ca avandiya ti

XXI Camman ti

- 1 Migājelakacammāni kappanti paribhuñjitum
rohitenīpasadā ca kurungā migajatikā
- 2 Anuññātattayā aññam cammam dukkatavatthukam
thavīkopāhane cammam sabbam kappati mānusan ti

XXII Upahana cerā ti

- 1 Majjhadesena kappanti gananganupāhanā nava
sabb ssa kappantarāme sabbatthakallakassa ca
- 2 Sabbanīlakaodātapītalohitakanhakā
mahāraḥḡamahānāmarangarattā upāhanā
- 3 Sabbamañjetthikā citrā nīlapītādivaddhikā
tittirapattikā mēdaajavisānavaddhikā
- 4 Khallabaddha putabaddhā tūlapunnā cupāhanā
pālīguntīmākā morapicchena parisibbitā
- 5 Vicchikalīkatā sīhavyagghuddājīnadvipīnam
majjāralakalōkacammehi ca parikkhatā
- 6 Padukā sankamanīyā koci dhāreyya dukkatam
nīladivannam sakalam muñcitvāvekadesakam
upahanavalañjeyya hāretvā khallakādikan ti

XXIII Anolohiyan ti

- 1 Sāratto itthiyā yonim mukham vā bhikkhadevī vā
parassa pattam ujjhānasaññī vā attano mukham
adasodakapatte vā oloketassa dukkatan ti

XXIV Añjanîti

- 1 Vattatthasolasamsâvâmatthâ vattatî añjanî
tisso pi mûle givâyam lekâ ekâvabandhitum
- 2 Yam kiñci rūpam mâlâdikammam makaradantakam
gomut'akaddhacandâdi vikâram nettha va¹ i
- 3 Labbhekavannasuttena sîbbitum thavikâ² â
sîpatikuñcîkâ koso salakâ pi acittakâ
- 4 Sankhanâbhîvisânatthînaladantamayâ tathâ
phalakatthamayâ velulakhâlohamayâ pana
- 5 Añjanîyo salâkayo dhûmanettâ ca labbhare
tathâ chattakadandânî natthu dhânâ ca tammayâtî

XXV Akappiyasayanânîti

- 1 Âsandî tûlpallanko patikam gonacittakan
patalî vikatî uddhalomî ekantalomîkâ
- 2 Kuttam koseyyam katthissam hatthiassarathattharâ
'jînapavenîkadalîmigappavarâ attharâ
- 3 Salohitavitânaññu bhato rattupadhânakam
akappiyani etânî dukkatam paribhuñjato
- 4 Âsandâdittayâ sese labbhate gihîsantake
dhammasane ca bhattachge ghare vâpi nîsîditum
- 5 Bhummattharanasankhepe sayîtuñ câpi kappatî
caturamsapîthâ sattangâ pañcangutthapadakâ
- 6 Tûlonaddhâ ghareyeva mañcapîthâ nîsîditum
colavâkunnapannânam tinânañ ceva pûritâ
- 7 Cîvaracchaviyo pañcabhîsiyabbatthakappiyâ
tulattayam bhîsigabbho lomânî migapakkhînam
- 8 Bimbohane anuññâtam tulavajjam masûrake
manussalomapunnâyam panne puppham tamâlakam
suddham na âsanañ ceva labbhamappatîvekkhîtan tî

XXVI Samânâsanîko câtî

- 1 Tivassantarânuññâtam bhikkhûnam ekam âsanam
sattavassatîvassehi pañcavasso nîsîditum
- 2 Thapetva pandakam itthim ubhatobyañjanam munî
dîghâsane anuññâsî sabbeheva nîsîditum

- 3 Antam dighāsanam tinnam vāṃ pahoti nisīditum
mañcake vāpi pīthe vā dvinnam labbham nisīditum ti

XXVII Asamvasiko cati

- 1 Ukkhitto nūpusampanno bhikkhuniucchinnam lako
nanaśamvāsaniṣṣimatho vāhāsasanthita
ekadasa abhabba ca asamvasa ti dipitā ti

XXVIII Kammaṇ cati

- 1 Adhammakammam vaggena samaggena adhammikam
vaggena dhammakammaṇ ca samaggena ca dhammikam
2 Catuttamam yevānuññātam sesakammesu dukkatam
catuvaggo pañcavaggo dasaviśativaggiko
3 Tīrekaśativaggo pañca sangha vibhāvita
catuvaggo 'ttha abbhānupasampadāppavāraṇā
4 Pañcavaggo ca abbhānam majjhadesupasampadam
dasavaggo ca abbhānam thapetva sabbakammiko
5 Itaro sabbakammesu kammappatto 'ti dipito
catuvaggena kattabbe cattaro pakatattakā
6 Kammappattāpare chandā raha sese pyayam nayo
catuvaggādi kattabbam asamvāsakammārahā
7 Garukatthesvaññātaram katvāna ganapūranam
parivāsādīkam kammam katam kuppañcadukkatam
8 Adhammakammam varejya antarāye duve tayo
ditthavim eko 'dhitthanam vārente 'vatato 'dhikā
9 Kammarahā asamvasā khittacittadukkhattitā
etesam sanghamajjhamhi patikkhepo na rūhati
10 Pakatatte asīmatthasamayam vāsabhikkhuno
ārocentassantamaso nantarassābhīrūhati
11 Kopetum dhammikam kammam patikosevya sammukha
tirokkhā kāyasāmaggi chandam nodeyya dukkatan ti

XXIX Muchāpivaravajjanā ti

- 1 Dārum velum phalam puppham cunnam nhanamukho-
dakam
mattikā dantakatthādīm na dade kulasangahan
2 pārībhattaketa muggasuppatā vatthuvijaya

- pahenadūtakammena janghapesaniyena vā
 3 Anuppadānappatipindavejjakammena vā pana
 nāññena vāpi sambuddhapatikutthena jīvaye
 4 Viññattinesanābhūtullapanākuhanādihi
 kuladūsādīnuppannapaccaye parivajjaye ti

XXX Vattan ti

- 1 Āgantuko na ārām m pavise saupāhano
 sachatto gunthito sīse karitvā vāpi cīvaram
 2 Pāniyena na dhoveyya pāde vuddhatare pi ca
 āvāsike bhivādeyya puccheyya sayanāsanam
 3 Gamiko patisāmetvā dārumattikabhandakam
 vikārañ ca thaketvāna āpucchā sayanāsanam
 4 Āpucchitabbe asati sangopetvāna sādhu-kam
 pakkameyya aññathā tassa pakkantum na ca kappati
 5 Āvāsiko paññāpeyya vuddhāgantussa āsanam
 upanikkhipe pādodappabhūtīm pattacīvaram
 6 Paccuggantvāna ganheyya pāniyena ca pucchaye
 āgantuke 'bhivādeyya paññāpe sayanāsanam
 7 Ājjhāvuttham avuttham vā vgo-carā gocaram vade
 vaccappassāvathānāni katikam sekkhasammutim
 8 Pavesanikkhame kālam paribhojanīyapāniyam
 nisunno va navakassa etam sabbam samuddise ti

XXXI Vikappanā cerā ti

- 1 Sammukhā parammukhā ti duve vuttā vikappanā
 sammukhāya vikappento byattassekassa santike
 imam cīvaram tuyham vikappemi ti bhāsaye
 2 Ettāvātā nīdhetum va kappati na ca kappati
 paribhogādikam tena apaccuddhatabhāvato
 mayham santakam paribhuñja vā visajjehi vā yathā-
 paccayam vā karohīti
 3 Tena paccuddhate yeva paribhogādi kappati
 aparā sammukhā vekā bhikkhussekassa santike
 4 Gahetvā nāmam ekassa pañcannam sahadhamminam
 imam cīvaram Tissassa bhikkhuno Tissāya bhikkhunīy.
 Tissassa sāmanerassa Tissāya sāmaneriyā Tissāya bhikkhamā

nāya vikappemi ti vattabbam tena bhikkhunā Tissassa bhikkhuno Tissāya bhikkhuniyā Tissassa sāmanerassa Tissāya sāmaneriyā Tissāya bhikkhamānāya santakam paribhuñja vā visajjehi vā yathā paccayam vā karohīti vattabbam.

parammukhā vikappanā ekassantevam iraye

imam cīvaram tuyham vikappanattāya dammīti tena vattabbo ko te mitto vā sandittho vātī itarena ceva vattabbam Tisso bhikkhu ti vā Tissā vā bhikkhuni ti puna tenāham Tissassa Tissāya vā dammi ti vikappite teneva Tissassa bhikkhuno Tissāya vā bhikkhuniyā santakam paribhuñja vā visajjehi vā yathāpaccayam karohi paccuddharitabbam

- 5 Dûrasantikattekatatabahubhāvam vijāniya
etam imanti etāni imāni te' ttha yojaye
- 6 Dasāham māsam ekam vā pañca vā kathinatthate
pāripûrattham ūnassa paccāsāsatī māsakam
nuppādayati nissaggim nādhittitām vikappitanti

XXXII Nissayo ti.

- 1 Byattassa pañcavassassa natthi nissayakāriyam
yāvajīvam pi abyatto nissito yeva jīvati
- 2 Ekamsam cīvaram katvā pagganhivāna añjalim
ukkutikam nisiditvā vade yāvatatīyakam
ācariyo me bhante hohi āyasmato nissāya vacchāmi ti
- 3 Pakkante pakkhasankante vibbhante cāpi nissayo
maranānattupajjhāya samodhānehi sammati
- 4 Nissāya na vase laggim apubbam thānam āgato
āgame catupañcāham nātum bhikkhusabhāgataṃ
- 5 Addhikassa gilānassa gilānupatthākassa ca
yācitassa araṇṇevā sallakkhentena phāsukam
sabhāge dāyake sante vasitum tāva labbhatīti

XXXIII Kāyabandhanan ti

- 1 Akāyabandhano gāmam dukkatam paviseyya ce
bandheyya yattha saratī tatthevāsatiyā gato

- 2 Pattikâ sūkarantanti duvidham kāvabandhanam
dussapatto ca rajju ca etā tadanulomikā
- 3 Macchakantakakhajjūripattā matthā ca pattikā
labbhā dasa catasso pi ante digunasuttakam
- 4 Mālādīm kakkatacchādīm dassetvā gunasuttakam
kottitā kuñjaracchādīm vattikā na ca kappatī
- 5 Ghatakam makaramukhādīm na kappanti dasāmukhe
labhante ghatakā lekhā vidhe aññāñ ca cūttakam
- 6 Deddubhakañ ca murajam maddavinam kalābukam
na kappanti dasāsu dve majjhimā yeva kappare
- 7 Veludantavisānatthi katthalākhā phalāmaya
sankhanabhīmayā suttam nalalohamayā pi ca
vidha kappanti kappiyā ganthiyo cāpi tammayāti

PATHAMA-BHĀNAVARAM NITTHITAM

XXXIV *Patharī cetī*

- 1 Jātājātā tī duvidhā suddhamattikapamsukā
jātā daddhā ca pathavī bahumattikapamsukā
- 2 Cātumāsādikovatthapamsumattikarasi ca
suddhasakkharapāsānamarumbakatavālukā
- 3 Daddhā ca bhummi yebhuyya sakkharādi mahī pi ca
dutiya vuttarasi ca cātumāsomavatthako
- 4 Dve bhāgā tīsu bhāgesu mattikā yassa bhummiyā
yebhūyya mattikā esā sesesu pi ayam nayo
- 5 Pācitti khanane jāte jatasaññissa dukkatam
dvelhassājatasaññissa nāpattānāpane tathā
- 6 Pahāre pahārāpatti khanamānassa attanā
ekāyānattiyā ekā nānānattīsu vācaso
- 7 Imam thānam imam kandam idha vāpim khanettha ca
jālehaggin tī vā vatthum niyametvāna vattatī
- 8 Thambhassimassa āvātam mattikam jānamāhara
karohi kappiyañ cetī vacanam vattatedisam
- 9 Asambaddham pathaviyā sukkhakaddamaādīkam
kopetum tanukam labbhamussiñ ca niyakaddamam
- 10 Ganduppādam upacikā mattikamūsikukkuram
cātumāsādhikovattham leddādīñ ca na kopaye

- 11 Patitevâpî âdinam kule udakasantike
pasane ca raje lagge patitena va sondivâ
- 12 Vammike mattikâ kudde abbhokâsutthite tathâ
yebhuyyakathalatthâne tittatitthakakuttako
- 13 Thambhadim ganhitum bhûmim sañcaletva vikopayam
dhârâya bhinditum bhûmim kâtum va visamam samam
- 14 Sammajjanîhi ghamsitum kankâdîm pavesitum
dassessâmîti bhindanto bhûmim cankamitum padam
- 15 Ghamsitum angapaccangam kandurogîtatâdisu
hattham va dhovitum bhumim ghamsitum na ca kappatî
- 16 Thambhâdim ujukuddhâro pâsânadîpavattanam
sâkhalakaddhanam rukhalatâchedanaphalanam
- 17 Sekopassâvaadinam suddhacittassa vattatî
allahattham thapetvana rajaggaho ca bhûmiyâ
- 18 Aggissa anupâdâne kapâle itthakâva va
patetum labbhate aggim bhûmiyam vavasesatî ti

XXXV Parikkharo ti

- 1 Pañcavannehi suttehi anto bahi ca sibbitum
girikûttaddhacandâdim chatte panne ca chinditum
- 2 Ghatakam vâlarûpam vâ dande lekha na vattatî
vattatî dandabundamhi ahichattakasâdisam
- 3 Sibbitum ekavannena pañjaram vâ vinandhitum
tirattam vattatî chatte dande lekha vabandhitum
- 4 Ante pattamukhe vâpî venisankhalikâ pî va
sûcivikaram aññam va cîvarena ca kappatî
- 5 Kappabînduvikaram vâ pâlikannikaâdikam
ganthipâsakapattâpî catukonâ va agghiyam
- 6 Muggaro kakkatacchâdî vikaram nettha vattatî
konasuttâ ca pilakâ duvîññeyyavakappare
- 7 Gandham telam va lakkham vâ rajanena ca pakkhipe
rattam sankhena maninâ ghatteyyaññena va na ca
- 8 Ghamseyya doniyam katvâ pahârena ca mutthinâ
kannakonakasuttânî ratte chindeyya cîvare
- 9 Lekha na vattatî dhammakarane chattavaddiyam
lekham thapetvâ manikâ pilakâ kuñcîkâya ca
- 10 Pippale ca paricchedalekhâ dandamhi vattatî

- mālādyaraniyam pattamandale bhittikammañ ca
 13 Hetthā lekkhā dvayam uddham ahichattakasādisam
 hitvā kattarayatthimhi sūcisandāsake pi ca
 14 Yam kiñci girikūtādi vannamattham na vattatī
 bimbohanamhi sīmañca pitthādisayanāsane
 15 Sammuñjanimhi sankārachaddane rangabhājane
 pāṇiyabhājane pādapīthe kathalikāya ca
 16 Pattādhārapidhānesu tālavante ca bijane
 yam kiñci mālākammādi vannamatthamavāritam
 17 Senasane pana dvārakavâtādiṭṭhābhedaṇe
 sovannamayam 'nuññātam vannamatthamhi kâ kathâ
 18 Visānanâlilâbâdipphābhede telabhajane
 pumitthirûparahitam vannamatthamavāritan ti

XXXVI Bhesajjam ti

- 1 Janassa kâtum bhesajjam dâtum vatthum na labbhati
 bhikkhâcariyaviññatti sakehi sahadhamminam
- 2 Pitunam tadupatthâkam bhikkhunissitabhandunam
 labbham bhesajjakaranam veyyāvaccakarassa ca
- 3 Mahâcûlapitâmâtâbhâtâbhaginîâdinam
 tesam sakenattaniye dâtabbam tâvakalīkam
- 4 Kuladûsanaviññattibhesajjakaranâdihī
 mâtâpitûhi sambandhaññâtakesu na rūhati
- 5 Pindapâto anâmattho mâtâdinam avârīto
 channam dâmaricorassa dâtum issariyassa ca
- 6 Tesam suddhakeheva parittam karenattano
 bhanitabbam bhanâpente parittam sâsanogadham
- 7 Sīlam dhammam parittam vâ âgantvâ detu bhâsatu
 dâtum vatthuñ ca labbhati gantvâ kenaci pesito ti

XXXVII Uggaho ti

- 1 Kammacetiyasamghaññapuggalattham ganassa ca
 dasabhedam pi ratanam uggaṇhantassa dukkatam
- 2 Nissaggiyesu attattham dvîsu sesesu dukkatam
 anâmasitva vutte tu ganasamghaññapuggalam
- 3 Cetiyassa navakammassa dammīti na patikkhiṇe
 vade kappiyakarānam vadantevam ime ti

- 4 Khetam vatthum talâkam vâ dente dâsapasvâdikam
patikkhipitvâ ganheyya kappivena kamena ca
- 5 Khetâtâdini vihârassa vutte dammîti vattati
navamâtikakedâratalakakiriyâ nave
- 6 Mattikuddharanam bandho thirakâro ca âliyâ
atirekabhâgâdânam kedâre anave nave
- 7 Aparicchinnabbhâge ca sassede 'thettake iti
kahâpanutthâpanaṇ ca sabbesam pi akappiyam
- 8 Avatva kasavapiccâ dettakâya ca bhûmivâ
patitthâpeti bhûmim vâ bhâgo deyyo ti etthako
- 9 Bhûmibhâge katam sassam etthake ganhathetthakam
ganhanaattham vadantevam pamânam dandarajjûhi
- 10 Minane rakkhane thatvâ khaletam niharâpane
kotthâdipatisâmane tassevetamakappiyam
- 11 Patisâmeyya pâcitti yam kiñci gihisantakam
bhandâgârikasîsena same pi pitusantakam
- 12 Pitûnam kappiyam vatthum avassam patisamiyam
attano santakam katvâ labbhate patisâmitum
- 13 Dehîti patisâmetvâ vutte câpi patikkhipe
pâtetvânagate labbham palibodho ti gopitum
- 14 Kammam karontâ ârâme sakam vaddhakîadavo
parikkhârâṇ ca sayanabhandam vâ râjavallabha
- 15 Dehîti patisâmetvâ vadanti yadi chandaso
na kareyya bhayâthânam guttam dassetum vattati
- 16 Balakkârena pâtetvâ gatesu patisâmitum
bhikkhumanussâsankanti natthe vatthumhi tadise
- 17 Vihârâ vasathassanto ratanam ratanasammatam
nikkhipeyya gahetvâna magge 'raññe pi tadise
sâmikânâgamam ñatvâ patirûpam karissatiti

XXXVIII Dusanan ti

- 1 Puppham velum phalam cunnam dantakatthaṇ ca
mattikam
sangahanattham dadato kuladûsanadukkatam
- 2 Thullaccayam garubhandam issarenettha samghikam
dentassa dukkatâdini theyyâsanghassa santakam
- 3 Kulasangahâropetum ropâpetum ca sabbathâ

- phalapupphupagam rukkham jaggituñ ca na vattatī
 4 Nimittobhasato kappavoharaparisaṃsayato
 attāro paribhogattham ropāpanādi labbhatī
 5 Vūta va vejjika jaṅghapesane gīhikammesu
 āhāpetvā pitaro bhandum veyyāvaccakaram sakāṃ
 6 Dukkhatam padavarena harane dūtasāsanaṃ
 sasanam agahetvapi pathamam vadato puna
 7 Uppannapaccaya evaṃ pañcannam pi akappiyā
 abhūta rocanaṃ rupasānīvoharuggahā disā
 8 Harāpetva haritvapi pitūnam sesaṇṇātinam
 patānaṃ vatthupujattham dātum pupphanī labbhatī
 9 Mandanattāñ ca lingadipūjatthāñ ca na labbhatī
 tattha phalaṃ gilānaṃ sampattissariyassa ca
 10 Paribbavavihinānaṃ dātum sapaṇasantakam
 bhajante phalapupphamhi deyyam pattassa kassaci
 11 Sammatenapaloketva dataḍḍham itarena tu
 vihāre va paricchijja katvāna katikam tato
 12 Devam yattha paricchedaṃ gilānassetarassa vā
 vacamanassa katikam katarukkhāvadassiyā
 13 Sīrasikasavādinam cunne sese ca nicchayo
 vatthavuttanāyo eva pannam ettha pavesaye ti

XXXIX Vassupanāyika cerā ti

- 1 Purimikā pacchimikā duve vassūpanayikā
 tathalāyapariggaho vacibhedo ca īdiso
 imasmim vihare imam temāsam vassam upemi
 2 Idha vassam upemiti cittuppadettha ālayo
 nopetukāmo āvāsam tadahu 'tikkameyya vā
 3 Bhaveyya dukkatapatti jānaṃ vanupagacchato
 duttiyaṃ upagaccheyva chinnavasso 'nupāgato
 4 Na paḥkameyya temasam avasitvāna carikam
 mātāpitūnam attāya pañcannam sahadhamminam
 5 Gilānatadupatthakabhaddam esissam osadham
 pucchissāmi upiṭṭhissam gantvānābhīratim aham
 6 Vūpakāsissam kukkucam dīṭṭhim garukam ādikam
 karissam vāpi kāressam vinodanam vivecanam
 7 Vuttānaṃ vāpi ussukkam gantum iccevaṃmādinā

- labbham sattāhakiccena pahitāpahite pi ca
 8 Samghakamme vaje dhammasavanattham nimantiro
 Garūhi pahito vāpi garūnam vapi passitum
 9 Na bhandadhovanuddesañatupatthakadussane
 labbham na pāpuneyyajje vāvamiṣṣanti dūrato
 10 Sesañātīhi pesite bhikkhunissitakena ca
 upāsakopāsikāhi niddisītvana pesite
 11 Vassacchede anapatti antarā e satattano
 samghasāmaggiyavāno chinnavasso pavarave
 12 Ajjhokāse ca rukkhassa susire vitape pi va
 chavakutichattacatisūpagantum na vattati
 13 Asenāsanikenāpi upagantum na labbhati
 pavāretuñ ca labbhati navasatthavajūpago ti

XL Aiebhaggiyan ti

- 1 Arāmārāmavattthūni vihāro tassa vatthu ca
 mañco pītham bhisi bimbohanadīsavanasanam
 2 lohakumbhī katāho ca lohabhanakavarako
 kuthāri vāsi pharasu kuddālo ca nikhadanam
 3 Valli velu tinam pannam muñjapabbajamattika
 dārumattikabhandāni pañcete avibhajiya
 4 Thullaccayam bhājayato bhājītāpi abhājita
 garubhandāni vuccanti ete 'vissajjiyani ca
 5 Valliddhabāhumattāpi velu atthagula vato
 tinādīmutthimattampi pannam ekam pi mattika
 6 Pakatā pañcavannā vā sudha kankutthaādīkā
 tālapattappamānāpi dinnā va tattha jatakā
 7 Rakkhītā samghikā rajjusottādī pi abhājīya
 nitthite bhajiya kamme samghike cetiyassa vā
 8 Pattādī bhikkhusāruppam tathā vipakatakatam
 bhājīyam lohabhandesu vārakam padaganhakam
 9 Velumhi bhājīya telanālikattaradandako
 chattadandasalākāyo tathopahanadandako
 10 Anuññātavasīdando karīdo pādaganhako
 araññi ca nisīngadī bhikkhūpakāranam tathā
 11 Tacchitvā nitthitam dārubhandan dantiñ ca bhaj
 bhikkhūpakarane pādaghatako mattikamayo

- 12 Bhajīyam kappīyam cammam elacammam abhājīyam
garunāgarubbandaṇ ca thāvaran thāvarena ca
13 Thavaram parivatteyya tathā katvā ca bhuñjitum
valladīphatikammena ganhe sesamabhājīyan ti

XLI Pakinnakan ti

- 1 Sadvārabandhane thāne sodukkhalakapāsake
sayantena divā dvāram bandheyya parivattakam
2 Sante viññumhi purise ābhogo cāpi kappatī
savasetam vinākāram sayanto dukkatam phuse
3 Ratanānīttirūpānī dhaññam itthīpasādanam
turīyāvudhabbandanī āmasantassa dukkatam
4 Sittatelo datehī phanahatthaphanehī vā
kocchena vapi yo kese osanheyy'assa dukkatam
5 Nekapāvuranā ekattharanā vā tuvatteyyum
tathēkamañce bhuñjeyyum ekasmim vapi bhājane
6 Caturangulato ūnam adhīkatthangulan tathā
dantakattham na khādeyya lasunam na akallako
7 Hīnukkatthehī ukkattham hīnam vā jātiādīhi
ujum vaññapadesena vade dubbhāsītā dāvā
8 Dīghe nakhe ca kese ca nāsālome na dharaye
na labbham vīsātī mattam sambādhe lomahāṇanam
9 Yathāvuddham na bādheyya sanghuddīttam va san-
ghīkam
adhotaallapadehī nakkame sayanāsanam
10 Sudhotapadakam vapi tathēva saupahano
sanghātīyā na pallatthe bhittādīm na apassave
11 Parīkammakatam sante uḍake no na ācāme
akappīyāsamādāne dāva sīlāpavījjhane
12 Desanāya sabhāgāya avīkamme ca dukkatam
patissavavīsamvāde suddhacīttassa dukkatam
13 Patissavakkhane eva pācīttī itarassa ca
na rukkhā abhīrūheyya satī kīccheva porīsam
14 Āpadāsu yathā kāmam kappatī abhīrūhītum
vinaddhānam vajantassa dukkatam parissāvanam
15 Yācamānassa addhāne adadantassa dukkatam
thullaccayam phuse angajātacchedena dukkatam

- 16 Âbâdhapaccayaññatra sesange attaghâtane
cittapotthakarûpâni na kare na ca kârâye
- 17 Na vutthâpeyya bhuñjantam ârâmâraññagehesu
yânâni pumayuttâni sîvîkam hatthavattakam
- 18 Pâtangum ca gîlanassa kappate abhirûhitum
buddham dhammañ ca sanghañ ca ârabbha karane
davam
- 19 Dukkataṃ paṇiṣam vâpi aññassa upalâlâne
kâyaṃ ūrum nimittam vâ bhikkhunîṃ na dassaye
- 20 Vivarîtvâ na sîñceyya tâ kaddamudakâdinâ
agāhato ca ovâdam na paccâharato pi ca
- 21 Bâlam gîlānam gamikam vajjayîtvâna dukkatam
lokâyatam na vâceyya palitam na ca gahaye
- 22 Pelaya pi na bhuñjeyya na kîle kiñci kîlitam
pârupe na nivâseyya gîhîpârupanam nivâ
- 23 Sanam kare samvellîyam dâyaṃ âlîmpayeyya vâ
vaddhîm payojaye yâce no nâtakapavârîte
- 24 Attano paṛibhogattham dînnam aññassa no dade
aggam gahetvâ bhûtvavâ katîpâham puno dade
- 25 Uddissayâcane rakkhāṃ nîatvâ nîatvâ va dandînam
gîvâssa dandite dando svayam dandâpane pana
- 26 Dandassa agghabhedena ñeyyâ pârajikâdikâ
harantesu paṛikkhâram coro coro ti bhâsîte
- 27 Anattâya sangāhante dandam gîvassatattakam
vîghâsucciârasankâram muttam chaddeyya dukkatam
- 28 Bahî pâkârakuddanam valanje nâvalokîya
harîte vâpi pîhâdi nalîkerâdiropîme
- 29 Yojâpetum payojetum payuttâni ca passitum
na labbham dhammayuttam pi naccam gîtam ca vâditam
- 30 Upahâram karomâtî vutte va sampaticchitum
râjâgâram pokkharanîṃ uyyânam cittâgâarakam
- 31 Kîlattham gacchato datthum ârâmam dukkatam katam
nave na patîbhâheyyâsanenunhena cîvaram
- 32 Nîdaheyya khamâpeyya garunâ ca panâmito
akkosane parammukhâ apattîhî ca sattahî
- 33 Bhikkhum upâsakam vâpi aññeneva ca dukkatam
na labbham vîṇîpâtetum sadâdeyyam ca cîvaîam
- 34 Labbham pîṭṭnam sesânam nîâtînam pi na labbhati

- vassam ruttho 'ññato 'ññatra bhāgam ganheyya dukkatam
 35 Patideyya natthe jinne givā nodeyya codito
 dhuranikkhepato tesam hoti bhandagghakāṇiyo
 36 Na santaruttaro gāmam kallo vā saupāhano
 pavisev va na dhareyya cāmarikaṇ ca bījanim
 37 Agāḷano na chindeyya kese kattariyā bahi
 aramato no dhareyya chattam labbhati guttiya
 38 Vaheyya 'nubhatokajam ekantarikakājakam
 sisakkhandhakatā bhāro hatthalambo ca labbhati
 39 Āpattivā anokasakatam codeyya dukkatam
 suddhassa ca avatthusmim tathā okāsakārane
 40 Atthagulādhikammam ca patipadam na dhāraye
 pākatangulasattanam mañcam vā uccapādakam
 41 Mūgabbatadim ganheyya dukkatam titthiyabbatam
 khurabbandam parihare tathā nhāpitapubbako
 42 Yam kiñci yacitum hatthakammam tadanusārato
 laddham gahetum nikkhammam ayācītvā pi kappatī
 43 Karetum aharapetum yam kiñci parasantakam
 gihinam gopake dente gahetum deti yattakam
 44 Laddham vatha paricchadam sanghaceti yasantakam
 dvihapajjeyya apattim kāyavācāhi vā chahi
 45 Alajjūṇanakukkuccapakatattāsatiplavā
 akappiye va kappiye kappakappiyasaññitā
 46 Alajjūṇanatapattim kavavacāhi chādaye
 linge sanghe ganekasmim catudhapattivutthitī
 47 Parikathobhāsaññattī na labbhā paccayadvaye
 viññattī yeva tatiye sese sabbam pi labbhati
 48 Na rūhataccaye danam pañcannam sahadhamminam
 sanghasseva ca tam hoti gihinam pana rūhati
 49 Bhikkhu va sāmanero vā mareyyum yadūpassaye
 bhikkhusangho vā dāyajjo tattha sese prayam nayo
 50 Purimassevimam dinnam dehi netvāsukassa ca
 pacchimasseva dammīti dinnam ñatvā imam vidhim
 51 Gunhe vissāsagaham va 'dhitthe matakacīvaram
 lohūbhande paharanim dārubhande ca dārujam
 52 Pattamī padukapallankam āsandim mattikāmaye
 thapetva kappatī sabbam katakam kumbhakārīkaṇ ti

XLII Desana

- 1 Cāgo yo bhikkhubhāvassa sā pārājikadesanā
yathā vuttena vutthānam garukapattidesanā
- 2 Ukkutikam nisīditvā pagganhītvana añjalim
thullaccayadim deseyya evam ekassa santike

aham bhante ekam thullaccayāpattim āpajjīm tam tumha
mūle patidesemī ti vatvā tena passasī āvuso tam āpattim ti vutte
ama bhante passamīti vatvā puna tena āyatim āvuso samva-
revyasīti vutte sādhu sutthu bhante samvarissāmīti vattabbam
aham bhante dve thullaccayāpattiyo apajjīm aham bhante
sambahulā thullaccayāpattiyo āpajjīm ta tumha mūle pati-
desemīti vattabbam nissaggiyesu pana idam me bhante
cīvaram dasahātikkantam nissaggiyam imāham āyasmato
nissajjāmīti imani me bhante cīvarani etam me bhante
cīvaram etāni me bhante cīvarāni dasāhatikkantāni nissaggi-
yani etānāham āyasmato nissajjāmīti

- 3 Nissajjītvāna deseyya āpatti tena bhikkhunā
patiggahetvā apattim deyyam nissatthacīvaram

imam imāni etam etāni cīvarāni āyasmato dammīti idam
me bhante cīvaram ratte vippavuttham aññatra bhikkhu-
sammutiyā nissaggiyam idam me bhante akālacīvaram ma-
sātikkantam nissaggiyam idam me bhante purānacīvaram
aññātikāya bhikkhunīyā dhovāpitam nissaggiyam idam me
bhante cīvaram aññātikāya bhikkhunīyā hatthato patiggahi-
tam aññatra parivattakā nissaggiyam idam me bhante
cīvaram aññātakam gahapītakam viññāpitam aññatra samayā
nissaggiyam idam me bhante cīvaram aññātakam gahapa-
tīkam tad uttari viññāpitam nissaggiyam idam me bhante
cīvaram pubbe appavāritam aññātakam gahapatīkam upasan-
kamītvā vikappam āpannam nissaggiyam idam me bhante
cīvaram pubbe appavārite aññāti ke gahapati ke upasan-
kamītvā vikappam āpannam nissaggiyam idam me bhante
cīvaram atirekatikkhattum codanāya atirekachakkhattum
thānena abhinipphādītam nissaggiyam idam me bhante
koseyyamissakam santhatam kārāpitam nissaggiyam idam

me bhante suddhakâlakânam elakalomânam santhatam kârâ
 pitam nissaggiyam idam me bhante santhatam anâdiyitvâ
 tulam odatânam tulam gocariyânam kârâpitam nissaggi-
 yam idam me bhante santhatam ûnachabbassâni kârâpitam
 aññatra bhikkhusammutivâ nissaggiyam idam me bhante
 nisidanasanthatam anâdiyitvâ purânasanthatassa sâmantâsu-
 gatavidatthum kârâpitanissaggiyam imani me bhante elaka-
 lomâni tiyojanaparamam atikkamitâni nissaggiyâni imani
 me bhante elakalomâni aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ dhovâpitâni
 nissaggiyâni aham bhante rūpiyam patiggahesim idam
 me bhante nissaggiyam, imâham sanghassa nissajjâmîti
 aham bhante nânappakarakam rūpiyasamvoharam samâ-
 pajjim idam me bhante nissaggiyam, imâham sanghassa
 nissajjâmîti

- 4 Nissajjitvâna âpattim deseyyâtha gihim vade
 janâhiman ti uminâ so vadeyyâharâmi kîm
- 5 Avatvâ 'mantitelâdîm vade bhikkhûnam kappiyam
 yam aharati so tena parivattetvâ kappiyam
- 6 Labbham thapetvâ dve pete sabbehi paribhuñjitum
 tato aññena laddho pi bhâgo tesam na kappati
- 7 Rukkhachâyâ pyantamaso tam nibbattâ na kappati
 nisattham patiladdhampi âdito santatattayam
- 8 No ce labbhettha evam so imam chaddehi samsiyo
 evam pi bhikkhu chaddeyya no ce labbhettha sammato
- 9 Etani dutiyam pattam sanghe sesâni labbhare
 sanghekasim gane vatthum labbham bhasantarena pi

aham bhante nânappakâarakam kayavikkayam samâpajjim
 idam me bhante nissaggiyam, ayam me bhante patto dasâha-
 tikkanto nissaggiyo, ayam me bhante patto ûnapañca
 bandhanena pattenâ cetâpito nissaggiyo imâham sanghassa
 nissajjami

- 10 Nissajjitvâna deseyya âpattim pattaggâhakam
 sammâññitvâna sanghassa pattantam tassa dâpaye

idam me bhante bhesajjam sattâhâtikkantam nissaggiyam
 idam me bhante vassikasâtikacivaram atirekamâse sese
 gîmhâne pariyittham. atirekaddhamâse sese gîmhâne katvâ

paṇḍahitam nissaggiyam idam me bhante cīvaram bhikkhusa sāmam datvā puna acchinnam nissaggiyam idam me bhante cīvaram sāmam suttaṃ vīṇāpetvā tantavāhehi vavāpitaṃ nissaggiyam idam me bhante cīvaram pubbe apavāritassa aññātakassa gahapatikassa tantavaye upasankamitvā vikkappam āpannam nissaggiyam idam me bhante accekacīvaram samayam atikkāmitam nissaggiyam idam me bhante cīvaram atirekacharattam vippavuttham aññatra bhikkhusammutiyaṃ nissaggiyam idam me bhante janam sanghikam lābham attano parinamitaṃ nissaggiyam, imaham ayaṃ smato nissajjamīti

11 Sesam sabbam yathāyogam ādimhi vippavojaṃve

aham bhante ekam paṇḍitīyāpattim āpajjīṃ dve sambahula paṇḍitīyāpattiyo apajjīṃ garayham me bhante dhammam apajjīṃ asappāyam patidesaniyam tam patidesemīti tena passasī āvuso tam dhamman ti vattabbam aham bhante ekam dukkatapattim apajjīṃ, dve, sambahula dukkatapattivo apajjīṃ aham bhante ekam dubbhāsitaṃ apattim apajjīṃ, dve, sambahulā dubbhāsitaṃ apattiyo apajjīṃ ta tumha mūle patidesemīti aham bhante dve nanāvattukā thullaccayaṃ apattiyo āpajjīṃ, sambahulā nanāvattukā thullaccayaṃ apattiyo apajjīṃ tā tumha mūle patidesemīti vatvā tena passasī āvuso ta āpattiyo ti vutte āma bhante passāmīti vatva puna tena avatim āvuso samvareyyasīti vutte sādhu sutthu bhante samvarissāmīti vattabbam

12 Adesanagāminiyam anāpatti ca desitam
nanāsamvasa nissimathitānam catupañcahi
manasā pakatattānam nānekā 'ti na desayeti

XLIII Chandadānaditi

- 1 Bherim ghandim patāletvā kammaṃ patte samagata sanghe hareyya chandam va paṇisuddhim pavaranam
- 2 Ekam bhikkhum upāgamaṃ nissiditvā ukkūṭikam añjalim paggaṇhitvāna dade chandam vicakkhano

chandam dammi chandam me hara chandam me ārocehīti vattabbam paṇisuddhim dentena paṇisuddhim

dammī pārissuddhim me hara pārissuddhim me ārocehi
vattabbam

- 3 Pārissuddhim padānena sampādeti uposatham
sanghassa attano capi sesakammam vibādhati
- 4 Chandadānena sanghassa dvayam sādheti nattano
tasmā chandam dadantena dātābba pārissuddhiṃ
- 5 Hareyyeko bahūnam pi paramparā na hāraye
paramparāhatā chandapārissuddhiṃ na gacchati
sabbūpacāram katvāna evam deyyā pavāraṇā

pavāraṇam dammī pavāraṇam me hara pavāraṇam me
ārocehi mamatthāya pavārehitū

- 6 Ārocetva 'tha so sangham pavāreyyevam āgato

ittamnāmo bhante sangham pavāreti dīttena vā sutenā
vā parisankāya vā vadatu tam sangho anukāmpam upādāya
passanto patikarissatīti

- 7 Gabetvā pārissuddhim vā chandam vāpi pavāraṇam
hāraṇaṃ sangham appatvā vibbhameyya mareyya vā
- 8 Sāmanērādibhavam vā patijāneyya nāhatā
patvā sangham tathāheyya āhatā hoti hāraṇaṃ
- 9 Sanghapatto pamatto va sutto nārocayeyya va
anāpatti va sañcicca nārocentassa dukkatanti

XLIV Uposatho ti

- 1 Dve uposathā cātuddaso pannaraso itī
suttuddesamadhīttānapārissuddhiṃ vasā tayo
- 2 Suttuddeso va sanghassa adhīttānauposatho
puggalasseva sesanam pārissuddhiuposatho
- 3 Pūbbakicce ca karane pattakalle sammānīte
suttam uddisati sangho pañcadhā so vibhāvito
- 4 Vinantarāyam sankhepenuddeso vinivārito
thero va issaro dvīsu uddese vettha tīsu vā
- 5 Visadesū ti vuttattā avattante pi vattati
āgaccheyyum yaḍi samā uddisanteva thokikā
- 6 Uddittham jaṃ suuddattham sotabbam avasesakam
udditthamatte sakalāyekaccāyutthitāya va

- 7 Pârisuddhim kareyyesam santike bahukâtha ce
katvâ sabbavikkappesa pubbakiccam punuddise
- 8 Pannaraso vâsikânam itaranam sacetaro
samânetare 'nuvattantu purimânam sace 'dhikâ
- 9 Purima anuvattantu tesam sese pyavam nayo
pâtîpadovâsikânam itarânam uposatho
- 10 Samathokânam samaggim mûlatthâ dentu kâmato
bahî gantvâna kâtabbo no ce denti uposatho
- 11 Deyya nicchâyasâmaggim bahûsu bahî vâ vaje
patîpado gantukanam evameva ayam nayo
- 12 Sâveyya suttam sañcicca asaventassa dukkatam
sammajjitum padîpetum paññâpetum dakâsanam
- 13 Na kareyya tathâ kallo mahâtherena pesito
sammajjitvâ padîpetva pathâpetvâ dakasanam
- 14 Ganañattim thapetvevam kattabbo tihuposatho
sunantu me âyasmanto ajjuposatho pannaraso yada-
yasmantânam pattakallam mayamaññam pârisuddhiuposatham
kareyyâmâtî
ekamsam cîvaram katvâ nisîditvâ ukkutikam
- 15 Therena añjalim tvevam paggayha samudîriyâ
pârisuddho aham âvuso pârisuddho 'tî mam dhârethâtî vade
yâvatatîyakam
samattapubbârambhena tena yenevam iriyâ
pârisuddho aham âvuso pârisuddhotî mam dhârehîtî
tikkhattum vattabbo
dvîsu therena kattabbam katvevamîriyo navo
pârisuddho aham avuso pârisuddho tî mam dhârehîtî
tikkhattum vattabbo
- 16 Navena thero tikkhattum evam assa udîriyo
pârisuddho aham bhante pârisuddho tî mam dhârehîtî
pubbakiccam sampâdetvâ adhittheyyevam ekato
ajja me uposatho pannaraso tî va catuddaso tî vâ adhit-
thâmîtî
tî vattabbam no ce adhittheyya dukkatam
- 17 Yattha vâ santi cattâro tayo vâ yadî vâ duve
pârisuddhim haritvâna ekekassitaritare

- 18 Tam tam uposatham kayirum siyâ âpatti dukkatam
vagge samagge vaggio ti saññino vimatissa vâ
19 Dukkataṃ karoto bhedaḍḍhippāyena thullaccayam
vagge samaggenâpatti samaggo itisaññino
20 Ukkhittassa gahatthassa sesanam sahadhamminam
pārajikassa sabbassa sikkhānikkhittakassa ca
21 Nisinnaparisāyañ ca sabhāgâpattiko tathâ
chandena parivutthena pātimokkham na uddise
22 Adesayitvānāpannam nāvikatvāna vematim
'nuposathe pi vâ kâṭum posatho na ca kappati
22 Atthitopasathāvāsâ na vaje tadahû vinâ
antarāyam vâ sangham vâ dhutthâtum sīmamevavâtī

XLV Parāṇā ti

- 1 Dvinnam tinnañ catunnañ ca aññamaññāpavâraṇā
ekassa ca adhiṭṭhānam sesâ sanghapavâraṇā
2 Pubbakicce ca karane pattakalle samānīte
thapetva ñattim sanghena kattabbavam pavâraṇā

Sunatu me bhante sangho ajja pavāraṇā pannaṇasī
yadi sanghassa pattakallim sangho pavāreyyatī

- 3 Ekamsam cīvaram kutva nisiditva ukkutikam
therena añjalim sangho paggayha samudirīya

sangham āvuso pavāremi ditthena vâ sutena vâ parisankhāva
va vadantu mam āvasmanto anukampam upadāya passanto
patikarissāmi dutivam pi tativam pi āvuso sangham
pavāremi ditthena va sutena va parisankhaya vâ vadantu
mam āvasmanto anukampam upadāya passanto pati-
karissāmitī

- 4 Pavārentesu thesesu nisijjukutikam navo
pavāretī sīyam vāya ukkut ko va acchatu

- 5 Pubbaṇambham samāpetvā navo sangham udhīyo

sangham bhante pavāremi ditthena vâ sutena vâ pari-
sankhaya va vadantu mam āvasmanto anukampam upadāya
passanto patikarissāmi dutivam pi tativam pi bhante
sangham pavāremi d v a s v a p vâ patikarissāmitī

dānena dhammasakacchā kalahehi ca rattīyo
 6 Tevācīkāya okāse satī khepītabbhāvato
 antarāye dasavidhe ñattim vatvānurūpato

sunātu me bhante sangho manussehi dānam dentehi dvīhi
 bhikkhūhi dhammam sakacchantehi kalaham karontehi
 yebhuyyena rattī khepitā sa ce sangho tevacīkam pavāressatī
 appavārīto va sangho bhavissatī athāyam rattī vibhāyissatī
 ayam rajantarāyo pe ayam brahmacariyantarāyo sace
 sangho tevācīkam pavāressatī appavarīto va sangho bhavissatī
 athayam brahmacariyantarāyo bhavissatī. yadī sanghassa
 pattakallam sangho dtevācīkam ekavācīkam samānavassīkam
 pavareyyātī

7 Pavāreyyānurūpena yathā thapitāñattiyā
 āgaccheyyum yadī samā ādikā cettha āhare
 8 Evam tī catuvaggo ca ñattim vatvā pavāraye

sunantu me āvasmanto ajja pavāranā pannārasī yadayas-
 mantānam pattakallam mayam aññamaññam pavāreyyamati

ekamsam cīvaram katvā nisīditvā ukkutīkam
 9 Therena añjalim tvevam paggayha samudīriya

aham āvuso āyasmante pavāremī ditthena vā sutena vā
 paṇisankāya vā vadantu patīkarissāmī dutiyampi tati-
 yampi patīkarissāmī
 navenāpi aham bhante āyasmante pavāremī pati-
 karissamīti

dvīsu therena kattabbam nava katvevam īriyo

aham āvuso āyasmantam pavāremī dutiyampi tati-
 yampi navenāpi patīkarissamīti

10 Pubbakīccam samāpetvā adhittheyyevam ekako

ajja me pavāranā catuddasī tī va pannārasī tī vā adhittha-
 mī tī vattabbam

yasmim vasantī vā pañca cattaro vā tayo duve

11 Pavaraṇam haritvāna ekekassitaritāre
 tam tam pavāraṇam kavīrum sīyā āpatti dukkatam
 12 Sesā uposathe vutta gathāyo cettha āhare

- 13 Pavarite ca sanghamhī pārīsuḍḍhī uposatham
kareyya chinnavasso vā avuttho vanupāgato
- 14 Catumāsiniyā cāpi kate sanghenuposathe
vutthavassā pavāreyyum sace appatarā siyumti

XLVI Samvaro ti

- 1 Cakkhussotāḍibhedehī rūpasaddhādi gocare
abhijjhādomanassādi ppavattim vinivāraye
- 2 Nigganheyya sakam cittam kiṭṭhādam viya duppasum
satimā sampajāno ca care sabbiriyāpathe ti

XLVII Suddhīti

- 1 Desanā samvaro etthi paccavekkhanabhedato
suddhī catubbidhā pātīmokkhasamvarasammatam
- 2 Desanāya visuddhattā desanāsuddhī vuccatī
na punevam karissanti cittādhītthānasamvaro
- 3 Vutto samvarasuddhīti sujhatindriyasamvaro
pahāyānesanam dhammenuppādentassa etthiyā
- 4 Suddhattā etthisuddhīti vuttam ājīvanissitam
yoniso patisankhāya cīvaram patisevatī
- 5 Evamādi yathavuttapaccavekkhanasujjhanā
paccavekkhanasuddhīti vuttam paccayanissitanti

XLVIII Santosō ti

- 1 Appena anavajjena santuttho sulabhena ca
mattaññu subharo hutva care sadhammagāravo
- 2 Atitāmanusocanto nappajappamanāgatam
paccuppanno nayapento santuttho ti pavuccatī

XLIX Caturakkhā ti

- 1 Buddhānussatimettā ca asubham maranassa ti
ārakattādināraham sammāsāmañca buddhato
- 2 Sammāsambuddham itī vānussatiyā punappunam
navabhede bhagavato buddhanussatiyā gune

- 3 Sîmatthasanghasîmatthadevatâsu ca issare
jane gocaragâmamhi tatthuppâdâya manuso
- 4 Sabbasattesu sukhitâ hontâ veradiadina
parichijja parichijja bhâvana mettabhâvanâ
- 5 Vannasanthanaokasadisato paricchedato
vavatthapetvâ kesâdikotthâse anupubbato
- 6 Nâtisîghañ ca sanikam vikkekham patibhavam
pannattim samatikkamma muñcantassânupubbato
- 7 Vannaâsayasanthânam gandhokâsehi bhavana
patikkulâsikotthase uddhumatadivatthusu
- 8 Gahetvâ asubhakaram pavattâ bhâvana subham
maranam me bhavissati jîvitam uparujjhati
- 9 Maranam maranam vati bhavavitvâna yonisso
vadhakashevupatthânâ sampattinam vipattito
- 10 Upasamharato kâyabahusâdhâranâ tathâ
âyudubbalato kâlavavatthânassa bhâvato
- 11 Addhânassa paricchedâ bhâvanâ maranassatîti

L Vipassanâ ti

- 1 Nâmarûpam pariggayha tato tassa ca paccayam
huvâ abhâvato niccâ udayabbayapilanâ
- 2 Dukkâ avasavattittâ anattâ ti tilakkhanam
âropetvâna sankhâre sammāsanto punappunam
- 3 Pâpuneyyânupubbena sabbasamyojanakkhayanti
adhisiḷadhicittânam adhippaññâyasikkhanâ
- 4 Bhikkhukiccam ato khuddasikkhâyasamudâhato
mahato kittisaddassayassa lokavicarino
- 5 Parissāho na sambhoti mālutasseva niccayo
tena Dhammasirikena Tambapanniyaketunâ
- 6 Therena racitâ dhammavinayaññupasamsitâ
ettâvatâyam nitthânam khuddasikkhâ upâgatâ
pañcamatthehi gâthânam satehi parimānato ti

NIBBĀNAPACCAYO HOTU

KHUDDASIKKHĀ NITTHITĀ

MÛLASIKKHÂ.

NAMO TASSA 'BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMÂSAMBUDDHASA

Natvâna tam pavakkhâmi mûlasikkham samâsato

PÂRÂJIKÂ

- I 1 Bhikkhunâ navakenâdo mûlabhâsâya sikkhitum
yannimittam pavesanto bhikkhu maggattaye cuto
- 2 Pavesanattituddhârapavitthe cepi sâdiyam
adinnam mânusam bhandam theyyâyekena âdiyam
- 3 Pañcavisâvahâresu garukañ ce cuto bhava
âdiyanto haranto vâ haranto iriyâpatham
- 4 Vikopento tathâ thânâ câvento pi parâjiko
tattha nanekabhandânâ pañcakânañ vasâ pana
- 5 Avahâra dasañ ceti viññâtabbâ vibhâvinâ
sahattthanattiko ceva nissaggo atthasadhako
- 6 Dhuranikkhepanañ ceva idam sahatthapañcakam
pubbasahapavogo ca samvâdhaharanam pi ca
- 7 Saketakammam nimittam pubbayogadipañcakam
thevvasapayhâ parikappa paticchinnâ kusatika
- 8 Avahara ime pañca viññâtabbâ vibhâvinâ
manussapanam panoti janam vâdhakacetasâ
jivita yo viyojeti sâsana so pârajiko
- 9 Jhânâdibhedam hadâye asantam
aññapadesañ ca vinâdhimânâman
manussajâtissa vadeyya bhikkhu
ñâtakkhane tena pârajiko vâso
[parajayam âpanno pârajiko]

II Sattagarukâpatti

- 1 Mocetukâmacittena upakkamma vimocayam
sukkam aññatra supinâ samano garukam phuse
- 2 Kâyasamsaggarâgena manussitthim parâmasam
itthisaññi upakkamma samano garukam phuse
- 3 Dutthullavâcassâdena maggam varabbha methunam
obhâsento manussitthim sunamanam garum phuse
- 4 Vannam vatvattano kamapâricariyâva methunam
itthimethunarâgena yâcamâno garum phuse
- 5 Sandesam patiganhivâ purisassitthiva pi vâ
vîmamsivâ haram pacchâ samano garukam phuse
- 6 Câvetukâmo codento amûlantimavatthunâ
codâpayam vâ samano sunamânam garum phuse
- 7 Lesamattamupâdâya amulantimavatthunâ
câvetukâmo codento sunamânam garum phuse

SATTAGARUKÂPATTI NITTITÂ

III Nissaggiya

- 1 Vikappanam adhitthânam akatva kalasâramam
dasaham atimâpeti tassa nissaggiyam siva
- 2 Bhikkhusammutiyaññatva ticivâram adhitthânam
ekâham atimâpeti tassa nissaggiyam siva
- 3 Aññatikava bhikkhuniyâ puranacivaram pona
dhovâpeti rajâpeti âkotâpeti tam siva
- 4 Aññatikava bhikkhuniyâ latthato ticivâram
adatvâ civarâdane nissaggiyam udiritam
- 5 Appavâritam aññâtîm viññâpentassa civaram
aññatra samavâtassa nissaggiyam udiritam
- 6 Rajatam jatarûpam vâ mâsakam va kahapanam
ganheyya vâ ganhâpeyya nissaggi sâdiveyya vâ
- 7 Parivatteyya nissaggi rajatâdi catubb.dham
kappiyam kappiyenâpi thâpetvâ sahadhammike
- 8 Vikappanam adhitthânam akatvana pamanikam
dasâham atimâpeti pattam nissaggiyam siva

- 9 Pañcabandhanato ûnapatte satı param pana
viññâpetı navam pattam tassa nissaggiyam sıyâ
- 10 Patiggahetvâ bhuñjanto sappı telâdıkam pana
sattâham atimâpetı tassa nissaggiyam sıya
- 11 Bhikkhussa cıvaram datvâ acchındantassa tam puna
sakasaññâya nissaggi acchındâpayato pı vâ
- 12 Appavâritam aññâtım suttam yâciya cıvaram
vâvâpentassa nissaggi vinaññâtıpavârıte
- 13 Jânanto bhikkhusanghassa lâbham parınatam pana
attano parınâmetı tassa nissaggiyam sıya
[nissajjitabbo nissaggiyo]

TERASA NISSAGGIYÂ NITTHITÂ

IV Pâcittiya

- 1 Sampajānamusâvâde pâcittiyam udîritam
bhikkhuñ ca omasantassa pesuññaharane pı ca
- 2 Thapetvâ bhikkhunım bhikkhum aññena pitakattayam
padaso dhammam bhanantassa pâcittiyam udîritam
- 3 Anupasampanneneva sayıtvâna tıratıyam
pâcitti sahaseyyâya catutthatthangate puna
- 4 Itthiyâ ekarattampı seyyam kappayato pı vâ
desentassa vinâ viññum dhammam ca chapaduttarı
- 5 Dutthullam bhikkhuno vajjam bhikkhusammutıyâ vinâ
abhikkhuno vadantassa pâcittiyam udîritam
- 6 Khaneyya vâ khanâpeyya pathaviñ ca akappiyam
bhûtagâmam vikopeyya tassa pâcittiyam sıyâ
- 7 Ajjhokâse tu mañcâdım katnâ santharanâdıkam
sanghıkam yâti pâcitti akatvâ pucchanâdıkam
- 8 Sanghikâvasathe seyyam katvâ santharanâdıkam
akatvâ pucchanâdım yo yâti pâcitti tassa pı
- 9 Jânam sappânakam toyam pâcitti parıbhuñjaye
aññâtıkâ bhikkhunıyâ thapetvâ parıvattakam
- 10 Cıvaram detı pâcitti cıvaram sıbbato pı ca
atırıttam akâretva pavâretvâna bhuñjato
- 11 Bhikkhum âsâdanâpekkho pavâretı pavâritam
natırıttena bhutte tu pâcittiyam udîritam

- 12 Sannidhim bhojanam bhuñje vikāle yāvakāhikam
bhuñjato vāpī pācitti agilānopanītakam
- 13 Viññāpetvāna bhuñjeyya sappi bhattadikam pī ca
appatiggahitam bhuñje dantakatthodakam vinā
- 14 Tittihyassa dade kiñci bhuñjitabbam sahatthato
nisajjam vā raho kappe matugamena ekato
- 15 Surāmerayapāne pī pacittiyam udiritam
angulipatodake cāpī hasadhamme pī codake
- 16 Anādare pī pācitti bhikkhum bhimsayato pī vā
bhayānakam katham katvā dassetva vā bhayanakam
- 17 Thapetvā paccavam kiñci agilāno jāleyya va
joti jālāpayeyya vā tassa pacittiyam sīyā
- 18 Kappabindum anādāya navacivarabhogino
hasāpekkhassa pācitti bhikkhuno civaradikam
- 19 Apanetvā nidhentassa nidhāpentassa va pana
janam pānam maientassa tiracchānagatam pī va
- 20 Chadetukāmo chādeti dutthullam bhikkhuno pī ca
gamantaragatassāpī samvidhāyitthiyā saha
- 21 Bhikkhum paharato vāpī talasattikam uggire
codeti vā codāpeti garukā mulakena pī
- 22 Kukkuccuppādane cāpī bhandanattāyupassutim
sotum bhandanajātānam yāti pacittiyam sīyā
- 23 sanghassa lābham parinamitan tu
nāmeti yo tam parapuggalassa
- 24 Puccham akatvā pī ca santabhikkhum
pācitti gāmassa gate pī kāle

EKACATTALISA PĀCITTİYĀ NITTHITĀ

V *Dubbhāsiyapālinnaka-niddesā*

- 1 Sanghikam garukam bhandam sodeyyaññassa issaro
thullaccayam yathāvatthum theyyāparājikādi pī
- 2 Kusādimayacīrāni kambalam kesavālaṃ
samayam vinā dhārayatolukapakkhājīnakkhīpam
- 3 Satthakamme vatthikamme sanimuttāñca bhundato
thullaccayam manussānam mamsādibhojane pī vā
- 4 Kadalerakkadussāni potthakam sabbanīlakam
sabbapītādikam cāpī dhārayantassa dukkatam

- 5 Hatthissuragasonānam sīhabyagghaccha dīpīnam taracchassa ca mamsādi uddissakatakam pī ca
- 6 Anāpucchitamamsaṇ ca bhuñjato dukkatam sīyā yathānupubbam hitvana dakatitthādīkam vaje
- 7 Sahasa vubbhajitvāna pavise nikhameyya vā vaccapassavakutīkam vinā ukkāsīkam vise
- 8 Nitthunanto kare vaccam dantakatthaṇ ca khādayam vaccapassāva donīnam bahi vaccādīkam kare
- 9 Kharena cavalekheyya kattham pāteyya kūpake ūhataṇ ca na dhoveyya uklāpaṇ ca na sodhaye
- 10 Dakakīccam karontassa katvā capu capu tī ca anajjhīttho va therena patimokkham pī uddise
- 11 Anāpucchāya pañhassa kathane visajjane pī ca sajjhayakarane dīpam jalane vijjhāpane pī ca
- 12 Vatapanakavātadi vivareyya thakeyya vā vandānadim kare naggo gamanam bhojanam pī ca
- 13 Parīkammam kare kare 'tī patichannakam vinā nahaya kāmam ghamseyya kudde thambhe tarum pī va
- 14 Kūruvīndakasuttēna aññamaññassa kayato agīlano pahārame careyya saupāhano
- 15 Upāhanam vo dhāreti sabbanīladīkam pī ca nimittam itthiyaratto mukham vā bhikkhadāyiyā
- 16 Ujjhanasaññī aññassa pattam vā attano mukham adasadimhi passeyya uccāsanamahāsane
- 17 Nisajjādīm karontassa dukkatam vandane pī vā ukkīttanupasampanuanānasamvasakādīnam
- 18 Ekato pandakīttīhi ubhatobvañjanena vā dīghāsane nisīdeyya adīghe asane pī ca
- 19 Asamānasanīkena mañcapīthe sayeyya vā kulasangahattham dadato phalapupphadīkam pī ca
- 20 Ganthim ādīm kare kare jīnavārītapaccaye paribhuñjeyya abyatto anissaya vaseyya vā
- 21 Anuññātehi aññassa bhesajjam vā kare vade kare sāpattiko bhikkhu uposathapavāranam
- 22 Dvārabandhadīke thane parivattakavātakam apīdhāya vinā bhogam nīyogam vāsaye dīva
- 23 Dhaññīttirūparatanam āvudhīttipāsādanam tūribbandam phalam rukkhe pupphannādiṇ ca āmase

- 24 Sasittodakatelehi phanahatthaphanehi vā
 kesam osanhanekasmim bhajane bhojane pi ca
 25 Ekattharanapāvurane sayey yum dvekamañcake
 dantakatthañ ca khādeyya adhikūnam pamanato
 26 Yojetī vā yojāpetī naccam gītam ca vādītam
 dassanam savanam tesam karontassa ca dukkatam
 27 Pihādīropime cāpi bahi pākarakuddake
 vaccādīchaddanādīmhi dīghakesādī dhārane
 28 Nakhamatthakarādīmhi sambādhe lomaharane
 parikkammakatam bhūmim akkame saupahano
 29 Adhotaallopādehi sanghikam mañcapīthakam
 parikkammakatam bhittim amasantassa dukkatam
 30 Sanghatiyā pi pallatthe dupparibhuñjeyva cīvaram
 akāyabandhano gāmam vaje karvāna vaccakam
 31 Nācameyya dake sante samadeyya akappīve
 desanārocanādīmhi sabhagapattiva pi ca
 32 Na vase vassam vīsamvade suddhacitto patissavem
 vassam vasitvā gamane ananūññātakiccato
 33 Vinā padam tarusuddham porisamhabhirūhane
 aparissāvano 'ddhānam vaje tam yācito na de
 34 Attano ghātane itthirūpādīm kārāyeyya vā
 hitvā mālādīkam cīttam jātakādīm sayam kare
 35 Bhuñjantamutthapentassa sālādīsu nisīdato
 vuddhānam pana okāsam adatvā vāpi dukkatam
 36 Yānādīm abhirūheyya kallako ratanattayam
 ārabha vade davanūññaparissāyopalālāne
 37 Kāyādīm vivaritvāna bhikkhunīnam-na dassaye
 vāce lokāyatam phalitam ganheyya ganhāpeyya vā
 38 Yatthakatthacīpelāya bhuñjato patta hatthako
 vātapānakavātam vā paname sodakam pi ca
 39 Unheyya patissāmeyya atīunheyya nodakam
 thāpeyya bhūmīyam pattam ange vā mañcapīthe vā
 40 Mīdhante paribhandante pāde chatte thāpeti vā
 calakādīm thāpe pattam patte vā hattha dhovane
 41 Pattena nīharantassa ucchīttam udakam pi ca
 akappīyam pi pattam vā paribhuñjeyya dukkatam
 42 Vade jīvā 'tī khīpīte na bhikkhātī anādaro
 parimandalakādīmhi sekhiye dukkatam sīyā

- 43 Yo bhandâgare pasutto va bhandakam
mâtûna pâcittiyam assa gopayo
44 Davâya hîna pi jatiâdinâ
vadeyya dubbhâsitam uttamam pi so

DUBBHÂSIPAKINNAKANIDDESÂ NITTHITĀ

VI *Suddhi*

- 1 Upajjhâceravattañ ca gamikâgantukam pi ca
senâsanâdivattañ ca katabbam piyasîlinâ
- 2 Hatthapase thito kiñci gahitabbam dade tidhâ
gahetukamo ganheyya dvidhâyam sampatiggaho
- 3 Sanghatim uttarasangam tatha antaravasakam
etam imam adhitthâmî tathâ paccuddharâmîti
- 4 Imam imani etâni etam pi cîvaran ti vâ
parikkhâracolânîti tathâ paccuddharâmîti
- 5 Ekam imam adhitthâmî pattam paccuddharâmîti
evam paccuddhare 'dhitthe cîvarâdi yathâvidhi
- 6 Sañcarittam vinâ sesâ sacittagarukantimâ
acchinnam parinatam hitvâ nissaggiyam acittakam
- 7 Padaso dhammam duve seyyam itthiyâ dhammadesana
duve senâsanâni pi sîbbanam cîvarassa pi
- 8 Pavâritam surâpanam pañcasannidhiadikam
joti ujjâlanañ ceva kappabîndum anâdikam
- 9 Gâmappavesanan 'tete pâcittisu acittakâ
pakinnakesu uddissa katham hitvaññamamsakam
- 10 Ekattharanapâvuranam ekamañce tuvattanam
ekato bhuñjanañ câpi naccagâtâdi sattapi
- 11 Akayabandhanañ capi pattahatthakavâtakam
acittakam idam sabbam sesamettasacittakam
- 12 Vitakkamanacittena sacittakam acittakam
paññattijânane câpi vadantâcariyâ tathâ
- 13 Pubbakaranâdikam katvâ uposathapavâranam
navamâ dipitam sabbam kâtabbam piyasîlinâ
sammujjani padîpo ca udakam âsanena ca
uposathassa etâni pubbakaranan ti vuccati
chandapârisuddhi utukkhanañ bhikkhugananâ ca ovâdo
uposathassa etâni pubbakaranan ti vuccati

uposatho yâvatikâ ca bhikkhû
kammappattâ sabhâgâpattiyo ca
na vijjanti vajjamiyâ ca puggalâ
tasmim na honti pattakallan ti vuccati.

pubbakaranapubbakiccâni samâdapetvâ desatâpattikassa sa-
maggassa bhikkhusanghassa anumatiyâ pâtimokkham uddi-
situm ârâdhanam karoma

pârisuddhi adhitthânam suddhesavasâ tidhâ
ganapuggalasanghâ ca tam kareyyum yathâkamam
câtuddaso pañcadaso samaggi dinato tidhâ
dinapuggalakâtabbâ kârato tena veritâ
tayo tayo' ti katvâna dinapuggalabhedato
tevâcidvekavâciti nava vuttâ pavâranâ
kattikantimappakkhamhâ hemam phaggunapunnamâ
tassa antimappakkhamhâ gumham âsâlipunnamâ
vassakâlam tato seyyam catuvîsatuposatha
câtuddasa cha etesu pakkhâ tatîyasattamâ
ñeiyâ pannarasa sesâ atthârasa uposathâ

chandam dammi chandam me hara chandam me âroce-
hîti chandam dâtabbam pârisuddhim dammi. p° me hara.
p° me ârocehîti pârisuddhi dâtabbâ pavâranam dammi p°
me hara p° me ârocehi mamatthâya pavârehîti pavâranâ
dâtabbâ âpatti desakena aham bhante sambahulâ nânâ-
vatthukâ âpattiyo âpajjim tâ tumhe mûle patidesemi
vutte passasi âvuso tâ apattiyo ti patiganhantena vutte
âma bhante passâmi vatvâ puna patiganhantena âyatim âvuso
samvareyyâsiti vutte sâdhu sutthum bhante samvarissâmiti
tikkhattum vatvâ desetabbam vematim ârocentena aham
bhante sambahulâsu nânâvatthukasu âpattisu vematiko
yadâ nibbematiko bhavissami tada ta âpattiyo patikarissamiti
tikkhattum vatvâ ârocetabbam ajja me uposatho pannaraso ca-
tuddaso ti vâ adhitthâmiti tikkhattum vatva puggalena adhi-
tthânauposatho katabbo dvisu pana therena pârisuddho aham
âvuso pârisuddho ti mam dharehîti tikkhattum vattabbam

navakenâpi tatheva vattabbam aham bhante mam dhâ-
rethati vacanam viseso tîsu pana sunantu me âyasmanto
ajjuposatho pannaraso yadâyasmantânam pattakallam mavam
aññamaññam pârisuddhi uposatham kareyyâmatî ñattim tha-

petvā patipātiyā vattanayena pārisuddhiuposatho kâtabbo
 ajja me pavāranā cātuddasīti vā pannarasīti vā adhithāmiti
 tikkhattum vatvā ekena pavāretabbo dvisu pana therena
 aham āvuso āyasmantam pavāremi ditthena vā sutena vā
 parisankāya vā vadatu mam āyasmā anukampam upādāya
 passanto patikarissāmīti tikkhattum vatvā pavāretabbam
 navakenāpi tattheva vattabbam sante tīvacanam vīseso
 tīsu vā catūsu vā pana sunantu me āyasmantā ajja pavāranā
 pannarasī yadāyasmantanam pattakallam mayam aññam
 aññam pavāreyyāmāti ñattim thapetvā therena aham āvuso
 āyasmante pavāremi ditthena vā sutena vā parisankāya vā
 vadantu mam āyasmantā anukampam upādāya passanto
 patikarissāmīti tikkhattum vatvā pavāretabbam navakehi
 pi tatheva patipatiyā pavāretabbam bhante tīvacanam vīseso
 catūhi adhikesu pana sunātu me āvuso sangho ajja pavā-
 ranā pannarasī yadī sanghassa pattakallam sangho pavā-
 reyyāti ñattim thapetvā vuddhatarena samgham āvuso
 pavāremi ditthena vā sutena vā parisankāya vā vadatu
 mam sangho an° up° pass° pat° tik° v° p° atthatam bhante
 sanghassa kathinam dhammiko kathinatthāro anumodā-
 mīti tik° vatvā kathinam anumoditabbam evam pi nissāya
 gahetabbo ekamsam uttarāsaṅgam karitvā añjalikatvā
 ukkutikam nūsiditvā yāvataṭṭiyakam ācariyo me bhante hoti
 āyasmatā nissāya vacchāmīti gahetabbo nissayam dentena
 pi lajjino yeva dātābbam na bhikkhavehi alajjinam nissayo
 dātābbo yo dadeyya āpatti dukkatassāti vuttam desanā
 suddhi nāma pātimokkhasamvarasīlam tamhi desanāyā sujjan-
 nato desanāsuddhīti vuccati samvarasuddhi nāma indriya-
 samvarasīlam tamhi na punevam karissāmīti manasi 'dhitthā-
 yasujjanato samvarasuddhīti vuccati parisetthisuddhi nāma
 ājīva-parisuddhisīlam tamhi pariyesanāyā suddhatā parisetthi-
 suddhīti vuccati paccavekkhanāsuddhi nāma paccayapari-
 bhogasannissitasīlam tamhi patisankhā yoniso cīvaram pati-
 sevāmi ādina nayena vuttapaccavekkhanena sujjanato pacca-
 vekkhanāsuddhīti vuccati

NIBBĀNAPACCAYO HOTU

MŪLASIKKHĀ NITTHITĀ

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

KHUDDASIKKHÂ

- I = Pâr 1-4, comp Kankhâ Vitaranî ap Minayeff Pâtumokkha, p 67
 II = Sangh 1-9 C II, 1, 4 M IX, 4, 6
 III = M I, 30, 4 Pâc 90 91 92 M VIII, 13 14 16-18 20 21
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 IV = M VIII, 10, 1
 V = Niss 21 C V, 9 10
 VI = ?
 VII = Pâc 35-39
 VIII = M VI, 40, 2 35, 6 Niss. 23 M VI, 3-6
 IX = ?
 X = M VI, 23, 9-15 31, 13 14
 XI = Niss 19 20 30
 XII = Pâc 1-4 75 54 77 85 67 55 63 12 1 2 64 53
 XIII = Pâc 11 M VI, 21 C V, 5, 2
 XIV = M VI, 33, 4 III, 5, 6 VI, 40, 2
 XV = M I, 32 25 26 C VIII, 7, 1 M I, 25, 23 24 20
 XVI = C VIII, 10, 1-3
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 XX = C VI, 6, 5
 XXI = ?
 XXII = M V, 2
 XXIII = Sekh 38 C V, 2, 4
 XXIV = M VI, 12 13
 XXV = M V, 10, 4 = Brahmajâlasutta Grimblot Sept Suttas P.11, p 9
 C VI, 8 14
 XXVI = C VI, 13, 2
 XXVII = M III, 6, 6 (P) IX, 3, 4
 XXVIII = C I, 13
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- XXX = M I, 25 ff C VIII, 1 ff
 XXXI = Pâc 59 comp Kankhâ Vit ap Min. 48
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 74 Bhikkhunîpâc 8 9 M I, 56 Pâc 54 M I, 25
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 XLVI = ?

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- I { = Pârivâra VI, 5
 = Parâjukâ 1-4
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LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

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I VINAYA PITAKAM

Title	Number of leaves	Character	Material	Number of MS
PĀRĀJIKAM	112	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	Oriental 444
do, defective	146	Burmese	do	Egerton 736
do, defective	147	do	do	" 1115
do, fragment	39	do	do	Additional 12,090
Pārājikam, with Burmese interpretation	313	do	do	Orient 2446
Pārājika Atthakathā	294	Burmese	do	" 1027
PĀṬIṬṬIYAM, def	91	do	do	Eg 1115
MAHĀVAGGO	551	Kambojan	do	Orient 1261
do, fragment, with Burmese interpretation	24	Burmese	do	Add 9068

Title	Number of leaves	Character	Material.	Number of MS
CŪṬAṬṬAḢO				
Saṅghādisesa ritual	14	Square char	Gilt palmleaves	Add 8903
do	7	Burmese	Silvered palmleaves	Eg 1114
do	6	do	Palmleaves	Add 10,550
do	5	do	do	" 10,554
do	177	do	do	Onct 2664
PAṬṬAṬṬAḢO				
Kamavācam, ¹ ehh 2-4 Defective	6	Square char	Gilt palmleaves	Eg 735
do, ehh 1-3, 5 Defective	15	do	do	Add 4849 A
do, chh 3, 4 Fragment	2	do	do	" 4849 B
do, chh 1-3	12	do	do	" 11,640
do, ch 2 Fragment	1	do	Palmleaf painted red	" 12,087
do, ch 1 Fragment	1	do	Ivory	" 15,240
do, chh 1-3	18	do	Gilt palmleaves	" 15,289

¹ In the division of this Buddhist ritual I have followed the authority of a MS in the possession of Dr Rost, who kindly lent it to me for examination. This MS is the only complete copy of the *Kamavācam*, which has come under my notice. It is written on twenty gilt palmleaves numbered kha-ga, in the square char. The *ms* chapters into which it is divided begin as follows —

- 1 Paṭṭhamam upajjham gāhāpetabbo | fol kha², 1 2
- 2 Tāvadeva chāyā metabbā | utupamānam āekkhitabbam | fol khā², 1 4
- 3 Sunātu me bhānte saṅgho | idam saṅghassa kathunaduseam uppannam | fol kha², 1 3
- 4 Sunātu me bhānte saṅgho | yo so saṅghena tūvarena avuppaiṣo sammato | fol khā², 1 4
- 5 Ahaṇa bhante itthannānam therasammutim iechāmi | fol gā², 1 2
- 6 Ahaṇa bhante itthannānam nāmasammutim iechāmi | fol gā², 1 5
- 7 Sunātu me bhānte saṅgho | yadi saṅghassa paṭakallam | saṅgho itthannānam vīhāram kappiyabhānam sammanneyya | fol gā², 1 3
- 8 Sunātu me bhānte saṅgho | ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu saṅghucakāyapattakāmo | aśmīkam attudeśam | so saṅgham kuttivattum dokaṇam yuṇaṭi | fol gā², 1 3
- 9 Ahaṇa bhante nayaṃ amuttasammutim iechāmi | sohaṃ bhānte saṅgham nayaṃ amuttasammutim yācāmi || fol gā², 1 4

Subscription | Navakhaṇḍam

Title.	Number of leaves	Character	Material	Number of MS
Kammavācam, ch 1	5	Burmese	Gilt palmleaves	Add 15,290
do, chh 1-2	14	Square char	Ivory	" 15,291
do, chh 1-3	12	do	Gilt palmleaves	" 17,490
do, ch 3 Fragment	1	do	Gilt copperplate	" 18,756 A
do, ch 2 Fragment	1	do	Copperplate painted red	" 18,756 B
do, chh 1-3	12	do	Copperplates	" 22,841
do, ch 1 Fragment	3	do	Cloth thickly coated with lacquer, with inlaid mother-of-pearl letters and ornaments	" 23,939
do, ch 2, with Burmese interpretation	13	Burmese	Silvered palmleaves	" 24,128
do, chh 1-3 Defective	10	Square char	Gilt palmleaves	" 27,279
do, chh 1, 3 do	8	do	Ivory	" 27,287
do, chh 1-3 do	12	do	Gilt palmleaves	" 27,288
do, chh 1-3	12	do	do	Orient 1607
do, chh 1-3	16	do	do	" 1608
do, chh 1-3	17	do	Palmleaves painted red	" 1609
do, chh 1-3	17	do	Gilt palmleaves	" 2171
do, chh 1-3 Defective	14	do	do	" 2604
do, chh 1-3	12	do	do	" 2605
Bhikkhu-Pāṭimokkham	14	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 17,328 ^a
do, in part	8	Square char	Gilt palmleaves	" 6779 A
do, fragment	1	do	Gilt palmleaf	" 6779 B
do, fragment	8	Kambojan	Palmleaves	Orient 1066
do, in part, with Burmese interp	7	Burmese	Silvered palmleaves	Add 4850 A

Title	Number of leaves	Character	Material	Number of MS
Bhikkhu-Pātimokkham, fragment, with Burmese interpretation	4	Burmese	Silvered palmleaves	Add 4850 B
Bhikkhu-Pātimokkham, with Bur- mese interpretation	52	do	Palmleaves	" 10,552
Bhikkhu Patimokkham, with Sinhalese interpretation, and Bikkhu- ni Pātimokkham	75	Sinhalese	do	Orient 1309
Bhikkhuni-Pātimokkham, with Bur- mese interpretation	71	Burmese	do	Add 19,957
Bhikkhuni-vibhango Defective	42	do	do	Eg 1115
Kankhāvitaraṇī, with Burmese in- terpretation Defective	318	do	do	Orient 2176
Samanta-pāsādikā Fragment	24	Kambojan	do	Orient 12450
Sārattha-dīpanī	872	Sinhalese	Paper	Eg 766
do	278	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 17,944
II SUTTA PITAKAM				
Dīgha Nikayo	160	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 18,755a
do	141	do	do	Orient 1436
do, with Burmese interpretation				
Defective	380	do	do	Add 15,262
Brahmajāla Sutta	32	Sinhalese	do	Orient 2244, foll la khah [Ch]
do, with Sinhalese interpretation	138	do	do	Add 17,678

Title.	Number of leaves	Character	Material.	Number of MS
Brahmajālasutta Aṭṭhakathā	137	Sinhalese	Paper	Orient 2233 [Chlders]
Samaññaphala Sutta	64	Roman	do	" 2234, foll 1-54 [Ch]
Samaññaphalasutta Vaypanā	79	Sinhalese	do	" 2234, foll 55-133 [Ch]
Kevaṇṇasutta	8	do	do	" 2235, foll 1-8 [Ch]
Kevaṇṇasutta Vaypanā	5	do	do	" 2235, foll 9-13 [Ch]
Mahānādasutta	11	do.	Palmleaves	" 2244, foll ga ge [Ch]
do	14	do	Paper	" 2236, foll 1-14 [Ch]
Mahānādasutta Vaypanā	32	do	do	" 2237 [Ch]
Mahāparimibbāna Sutta	117	do	do	" 2238, foll 1-55 [Ch]
do	55	do	do	" 2239, foll 1-63 [Ch]
do.	63	do	do	" 2241a [Ch]
do	33	do	Palmleaves	" 2241b [Ch]
Mahāparimibbānasutta Vaypanā	40	do	do	" 2238, foll 56-134 [Ch]
do.	79	do	Paper	" 2239, foll 64-167 [Ch]
do.	104	do	do	" 2240, foll 1-128a [Ch]
do.	128	do	do	" 17, 328b
Mahāsamaya Sutta	4	Burmese	Palmleaves	Orient 2244, foll ghi na [Ch]
Mahāsatapaṭṭhāna Sutta	15	Sinhalese	do	Add 10, 560a b
do Defective	11	Burmese	do	Orient. 2170
Mahāsatapaṭṭhāna Sutta, with Burmese explanation	49	do.	do	" 2264
do, with Sinhalese interp.	118	Sinhalese	do	" 2244, foll gau-ghā [Ch]
Sigālovāda Sutta	7	do	do	" 2243, foll 2-10 [Ch]
do.	9	do	Paper	" 2243, foll 12-69 [Ch]
Sigālovādasutta Aṭṭhakathā	68	do	do	" 1051 [Ch]
do	14	do	do	"

Title	Number of leaves	Character	Material	Number of MS
Sigālovādasutta Atthakathā	6	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	Orient 1048 [Ch]
Sanghī Sutta	53	do	Paper	" 2261, foll 1-53 [Ch]
Dasuttara Sutta	55	Roman	do	" 2242, foll 2-56 [Ch]
do	12	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	" 2241c [Ch]
Dasuttarasutta Vannanā	5	do	do	" 2241c [Ch]
do	15	do	Paper	" 2242, foll 57-71 [Ch]
Mahāsuddasanasutta Vannanā Defective	4	do	do	" 2240, foll 128c-131 [Ch]
do, with Sinhalese interp	33	do	Palmleaves	Add 21,903
Sumangalavilāsinī	254	do	do	" 11,550
MAJJHIMA NIKĀYO Mūlapaññāsakam Defec	422	Kambojan	do	" 11,554
Satipatthānī Sutta	53	Sinhalese	Copperplates	" 12,091
Cūlakammavibhanga Sutta	14	do	Silverplates	Eg 764, foll ke-khṛī
SAṂVUTTA NIKĀYO Defec at the end	235	do	Palmleaves	Orient 2344
Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta	11	do	Silverplates	Eg 764, foll ka klī
do	3	do	Palmleaves	Orient 2245c [Ch]
Girimānanda Sutta, with Burmese interp	11	Burmese	do	Add 10,549
Asankhata Samyuttam	8	Sinhalese	Paper	Orient 2261, foll 54-61 [Ch]
ANGUTTARA NIKĀYO	438	do	Palmleaves	" 2276
do	414	do	do	" 2412
do, Nipāta 8-11 Defective	275	Burmese	do	" 2177
Manorathapūraṇī Tīkā Defective	171	do	do	" 2089
KHUPPAKA NIKĀYO Khuddaka Patho, with Sinhalese interp	31	Sinhalese	Paper	" 1005 [Ch]
Dhammapadam with Sinhalese interpretation	151	do	Palmleaves	Add 11,551
Dhammapada Atthakathā Fragments	360	Kambojan	do	Orient 1273
do Fragment	25	do	do	" 1000

Title	Number of leaves	Character	Material	Number of MS
Itivuttaka Atthakathā, by Dammaṇḍa	341	Kambojan	Palmleaves	Add 11,553
Defective	163	Sinhalese	do	" 27,469
Suttaṇḍa	8	do	do	Orient 2245a [Ch]
Dhammika Sutta, with Commentary	8	do	do	" 2245b [Ch]
Brahmanadhammikasutta Vaṇṇanā	6	do	do	Add 17,554, foll ka-kū
Mangalasutta Tika	353	do	do	" 17,554-17,555
Mangalathā dipanī	24	Kambojan	do	Orient 1065
Mangaladīpanī Atthakathā Fragment	188	Burmese	do	" 2603
Mahāṇḍesagantho				
Paramatthajotikā, with Burmese interpretation Incomplete	249	Burmese	do	Add 21,578
Jātakam	135	Sinhalese	do	" 27,469
Mahānīpāta, with Burmese interpretation	650	Burmese	do	" 12,237-12,238
Mahānārada-Jātakam and Vadhūra-Jātakam	42	do	do	" 10,598
Vessantara-Jātakam	53	Kambojan	do	Orient 1245a b
Mukha-Jātakam, with Burmese interp	65	Burmese	do	" 2193
Mahosetha-Jātakam, with Burmese interpretation Defective	260	do	do	" 999
Jūjakapabbam, with Siamese interp	17	Kambojan	do	" 1246b
Gāthās	1	Burmese	Template	Add 21,612
III ABHIDHAMMA PITAKAM				
Dhātukathā, with Burmese interp	179	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 19,978
Yamaka Incomplete	242	do	do	" 20,781
do	100	do	do	Orient 1237

Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Atthasālinī, with Burmese interpretation	480	Burmese	Palmleaves	Orient. 2173.
Sambohavinodanī. Defective	179	do.	do.	" 2670.
Paṭṭhānappakarana Aṭṭhakathā	147	Kambojan	do.	Add. 11,552.
Īnāthapadavaṇṇanā or Abhidhammassa				
Mūlatīkā, by Ānandācāriya	338	Burmese	do.	" 11,641.

IV. RELIGIOUS WORKS.

Parittam	147	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	Orient. 1092.
Parittasāṅkhepavaṇṇanā	68	Kambojan	do.	" 1246a.
Suttasangaha Nissaya	427	Burmese	do.	Add. 15,261.
do.	346	do.	do.	Eg. 1116.
do, fragment	11	do.	do.	Add. 9953.
Visuddhi Maggo	240	Sinhalese	do.	" 11,658.
do.	308	do.	do.	Orient. 2246 [Ch.].
Sārasangaho	312	Kambojan	do.	1044 [Ch.].
Abhidhammatthasangaho	25	Burmese	do.	Add. 10,553.
do.	24	do.	do.	" 12,246.
do.	23	do.	do.	Orient. 2247 [Ch.].
do., chh. 1-3, with Burmese interpretation	32	do.	do.	2170.
do., ch. 2, with Burmese interpretation	45	do.	do.	Add. 10,556.
do., ch. 5, with B. interpretation	42	do.	do.	" 6781 B.
do., ch. 8, with B. interpretation	37	do.	do.	" 10,557.

Title	Number of leaves	Character	Material	Number of MS
Abhidhammatthirangha Tikā, with Burmese interpretation	328	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 26,660
Saddhammapāṇa, with Sin interpretation	89	Sinhalese	do	Orient 2248 [Ch]
Instructions to Buddha, with B interpretation	14	Burmese	do	Add 3549
V CIVIL LAW CODES				
Dhammasatthapakaraṇam, with Burmese interp ¹	215	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 12,241—12,212, 12,250

VI LEGENDARY TALES AND HISTORY

Collection of Vāṭṭhus, with Sinhalese interpretation Defective at the end	140	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	Orient 1090
Mahāndrapāṇho, with B interpretation	392	Burmese	do	" 458
Mahāvamsa, chh 1-37	88	Sinhalese	Paper	" 2250 [Ch]
Dīpavamsa	39	do	Palmleaves	" 2249 [Ch]

¹ The British Museum possesses two Burmese Commentaries on portions of the above work, viz 1 *Manuṅga Dhammasat*, a Com on the third cūṭṭhi (MS Orient 1029) 2 *Manuṅga* a Com on the sixth cūṭṭhi (MS Add 2749) Di A I ubhi formah of W u chhu, now of Bombay, has been engaged on these MSS during his stay in London On the *Dhammasatthapakaraṇam* see a communication by Dr Rost, in *Indische Studien* I 315-320

² MS Orient 2251, which forms also part of the Childers collection, contains variant readings to the Mahāvamsa, collected from Turnour's text, one Burmese MS, and five Sinhalese MSS

Title	Number of leaves	Character	Material	Number of MS
Sasanavamsa	73	do	do	2252 [Ch]
do	82	do	do	" 2253 [Ch]
Haṭṭhavanagallavamsa, with Sinhalese interp	49	do	do	Add 24,999

VII RHETORIC

Subodhāṅkāra, with Burmese interpretation	54	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 27,545
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VIII PROSODY

Kavīsarapākaranam	54	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 27,545
Kavīsarātika Nissaya	181	do	do	" 17,945

IX GRAMMAR

Mulakaccāyano, books 1-3, with Siamese version	36	Kambojan	Palmleaves	Orant 1216r
Mulakaccāyano	8	Burmese	do	" 2178a
Kaccayanappakaranam Defective	71	do	do	" 22,1 [Ch]
Kaccayanappakaranam	81	Sinhalese	Paper	Add 19,640a
do Fragment, with Burmese interpretation	119	Burmese	Palmleaves	" 18,75b
do	17	do	do	Orant 2255 [Ch]
Sandhakappa and Nānakappa	22	Sinhalese	Paper	" 854 [Ch]
Nānakappa	15	Burmese	Palmleaves	"

Title	Number of leaves	Character	Material	Number of MS
Sindhikappa Nissaya	80	do	do	Add 12,213
do and Kuthakappa Nissaya	153	do	do	Orient 2170
Suddhimati	39	Sinhalese	do	Add 17,679
Mukhamuttapam, with B interpretation	315	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 18,751
do	215	do	do	" 27,289
Suddhupakaramam	369	do	do	Orient 2256 [Ch]
Vacikopadesa Nissaya	66	do	do	" 1076
Mogallanupakar nam, with Burmese interp	219	do	do	" 478

X LEXICOGRAPHY

Abhidharmapadipikā Defective	31	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add 27,289
Pali-Sinhalese Vocabulary Incomplete	13	Sinhalese	do	Orient 2167

XI MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Astrological tracts, in Pali and Sinhalese	99	Sinhalese	Paper	Orient 2258 [Ch]
Kyivratagāthāsani, Pali text, with Sinhalese interpretation See Hardy's Manual, p 539	31	do	Palmleaves	" 2659 [Hardy]
Vuttamālasandesasatakam, with Sin interp	48	do	do	" 2661

LIST OF PÂLI MANUSCRIPTS

IN THE

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

BY
T W RHYS DAVIDS

IN the following alphabetical list, which I should not have been able to draw up had it not been for the specially kind assistance of the accomplished head of the Library, all the MSS are on palm-leaves unless otherwise stated. Besides these Pâli books the Library possesses a collection unrivalled in Europe, of the works on the history of Buddhism written in Sinhalese.

Name	Character	No of leaves	Library Mark
Abhidhânappadîpikâ	Sinh	192	Add MS 923
Abhidhammattha sangaha ¹	Burm	107	1257
Atthanagala-vansa	Sinh	24	925
Ambatthâ sutta-atthakathâ	"	10 (paper)	928 (?)
Kammavacâ	Sq Pâli	59	1260
"			292, 293
" (fragments)			340, 341
Khuddaka-pâṭha	Sinh	15 (paper)	931
Carîyâ-piṭaka	"	44 "	935
Dîpavansa	"	146 "	944
"	"	31	945
"	"	27	946
"	"	59	1255
Patimokkha	Burm		1249
Payoga-siddhi	Sinh	103	1253

¹ Mr Bradshaw has a copy of the Vannana on this work in his own library

Name	Character	No of leaves	Library Mark
Padarūpa-suddhi	Sinh	59	1254
Peyyāla kanda (imperfect)	Kāmb	32	1256
Balavatāra	Sinh	41	957
„ with sanna	„	151	958
Buddhavana	„	214 (paper)	951
Bodhivansa ¹	„	62	953
Brahmajala Sutta (with Sanna)	„	120	955
„ „	„	134	956
Bhesajja mañjusā	Burm	144	1252
Mahāvagga (?)	Burm		225
Mahāvansa	Sinh	172	291
„	Burm		296
„	Sinh	241	962
„	„	181	963
„	„	183	964
„ Tikā	„	188	965
Milinda Pañha	„	154	1251
Ratthapāla Sutta (with Sanna)	„	33	978
Rasavāhini	„	10 (paper)	973
Lalāta-dhatu-vansa	„	197	974
Vibhanga	„	59	978
Visuddhi-magga	„	357	980
Sandhi-kappa	„	154 (paper)	983
Salāyatanavagga (sanyutta)	Burm	200	986
Satipatthāna Sutta	Sinh	17	988
Sigālovada Sutta	„	11 (paper)	984
Sumangala-pasādana	Burm	? ²	294
Sumangala-vilasini	Sinh	250	987
Sutta Nipāta	„	39	989

¹ The library also possesses a Sinhalese Sanna on this work written on 178 palm-leaves

² This MS contains text and Burmese Nissaya combined.

LIST OF PÂLI MANUSCRIPTS

IN THE

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[I HAVE compiled the following list from Westergaard's Catalogue, and included, from information kindly supplied by Professor Fausboll, the additions made to this department of the library since the publication of that catalogue—R.H. D.]

I PITAKA TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES

Title	No of leaves	Character
Parivâra	138	Sinh
Kammavâcâ, cap 1 and 4	14	Square
Kankha Vitarani	128	Sinh
Khudda Sikkhâ, with Burm Sanna	139	Burm
Digha-Nikaya	272	Sinh
Sumangala Vilasini		Do
Mahâ samaya Sutta Vannanâ	32	Kamb
Majjhima „	277	Sinh
Papañca Sudanî	389	Do
Līnattha Pakasani	366	Burm
(Tikâ on last in three separate MSS)	112	Do
	165	Do
Sati-patthana Sutta	102 ¹	Sinh
Vammika Sutta	17	Do
Sanyutta Nikâya	346	Do
Anguttara Nikâya	502	Do

¹ Leaves 41-102 are Sinhalese Sanna

Title	No of leaves	Character
Manoratha Purani	paper	Sinh
Nava-nipata (fragment)	28	Burm
Dhammapada	28	Sinh
„ Vannanā	298	Do
„ with Sinh Sanna	92	Do
Sutta-nipāta }	26 }	Do
Paramattha Jotikā }	157 }	Do
Maha-mangala Sutta }	3 }	Do
Sinh Sanna on ditto }	98 }	Do
Sattasuryodgamana Sūtra	68	Do
(Pāli followed by Sin. Sanna)		
Tirokudda Sutta	3	
(Pali text and com followed by Sinh Sanna)		
Dhamma-cakkappavattana Sutta		
(with com)	14	Do
Paramattha Dīpani	219	Do
Jātaka Commentary	806	Do
Dhamma Sangani, Attha salinī	243	Do
Vibhanga	89	Do
Sammoha Vinodanī }	175 }	
Com on Patthana }	63 }	

II EXTRA-CANONICAL WORKS

Sāra Sangaha	126	Sinh
Pāli Muttaka Vinaya	215	Do
Upasaka Janāṅkara	95	Do
Milinda Pañha	183	Do
„ „	117	Do
Jinalankāra Vannana	210	Do
Rasavahini	81	Do
Mahāvansa	129	Do
Balavatara	33	Do
„ with Sanna ¹	91	Do
„ „	105	Do
„ „	82	Do

¹ Thus and the two following Sannas are three distinct works

Title.	No of leaves	Character
Kaccâyana Sâra	{ 4	Sinh
„ „ Yojanâ	{ 20	Do
Moggalâna Vyâkarana	89	Do
Rupa Mâlâ	11	Do
„	11	Do
Abhidhâna Padîpikâ	50	Do
„ „ with Sanna	139	Do
Akkhyâta Pada, with Sanna	35	Do
Dhatu Mañjusâ	6	Do
Dhâtu Patha }	{ 20	Do
Dhâtu Mañjûsâ }		

[Professor Fausboll has also favoured us with the following list of the Pali MSS in the University Library at Copenhagen]

- 1 Mahâ Samaya Sutta (Pali with Burmese Sanna)
- 2 Nemi Jâtaka.
- 3 Temiya Jâtaka
- 4 Mahâ Janaka Jâtaka
- 5 Suvanna Sâma Jataka
- 6 Kaccayana's Grammar (sandhikappa) All the above in one volume, together with two Jatakas in Burmese
- 7 The Mahâvagga of the Vinaya in Sinhalese character
- 8 Mahâvansa Tikâ, also in Sinhalese characters

PÂLI MSS AT STOCKHOLM

[DR E W DAHLGREN, the Secretary of the Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography at Stockholm, has been kind enough to send me, in English, the following list of the Pali and Sinhalese MSS now at Stockholm, and collected in Ceylon by Baron Nordenskiöld. It is compiled from a description of them contributed to the Journal of the Society by Professor Fausboll.]

1 BRAHMAJÂLA-SUTTA, on 134 palm-leaves, paged ka-jhû, with 7 lines on each side. The MS contains the first Sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. Pâli followed by a Sinhalese Sanna.

2 BRAHMAJALA-SUTTA, on 164 palm-leaves, pag ka-tî, with 6-7 lines on each side. The same work as No 1. Pâli followed by a Sinhalese interpretation.

3 MAHASATIPATTHANA-SUTTA, on 106 palm-leaves, pag ka-chlri, with 7-10 lines on each side. This MS contains the 21st Sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. Pâli followed by a Sinhalese interpretation.

4 MAHÂDHAMMASAMADANA-SUTTA, on 25 palm-leaves, pag ka-khlri, with 6-10 lines on each side. The MS contains the 6th Sutta of the 5th part of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*. Pâli, followed by a Sinhalese interpretation.

5 RASAVÂHINÎ, on 206 palm-leaves, pag ka-dau, with 8-9 lines on each side.

6 ABHIDHÂNAPPADÎPIKÂ, on 146 palm-leaves, pag ka-ñâ, with 8-10 lines on each side. Pâli, with Sinhalese interpretation.

7 SUBHASÔTRÂRTHAVYÂKKHYÂNAYAYI, on 55 palm-leaves, pag ka-ghri, with 5 lines on each side. This MS contains a

Sinhalese translation of the *Subha-Sutta*, in the *Dīgha Nikāya*

8 MUWA-JĀTAKA, on 74 palm-leaves, pag ka-niri. Elu verse

9 PADA-RŪPA-SIDDHI, on 212 palm-leaves, pag ka-dhi, with 8-9 lines on each side. A Sinhalese translation of the well-known Pali grammar ¹

10 Chapters 7-11 of the PŪJĀVALIYA, a Sinhalese prose work, giving an account of gifts made to the Buddhist order. The MS consists of 96 palm-leaves, pag ka-cah, with 6 lines on each side

11 Single pages of divers Sinhalese manuscripts

¹ The sixth chapter of this work has just been published as a *Doctor Dissertation* by Albert Grunwedel, of Munchen

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 - 62 ASABHA TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihâra, Welitota*
 - 63 SUGATAPALA STHAWIRA, of *Washaduwa*
 - 64 DHAMMA RATANA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihâra, Welitota*
 - 65 SARANA TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihâra, Welitota*
 - 66 SAMIDDHANKARA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihâra, Welitota*
 - 67 SILANANDA STHAWIRA, of *Kalyana Wihâra, Kaluwamodara*
 - 68 SUGATA TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihâra, Welitota*
 - 69 DHAMMA SIRI STHAWIRA, of *Sumattârâma Kalutota*
 - 70 DOMPE BUDDHARAKKHITA STHAWIRA, *High Priest of Kelani*
 - 71 PAÑÑAMOLI STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihâra, Welitota*
 - 72 SÔRATA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihâra, Welitara*
 - 73 MEDHAWI TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Kshetrasanne Wihâra, Welitara*
 - 74 DIPAWISÂRADA TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Dokunewatte Wihâra, Kalutara*
 - 75 SILASUMANA TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Sudarsanâ roma, Duwegoda*
 - 76 SIRISUMANA TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Gangdrama, Moragalla*
 - 77 GUNARATANA STHAWIRA, of *Vivekârdama, Moragalla*
 - 78 JINARATANA STHAWIRA, of *Randombe*
 - 79 WIMALADHIRA STHAWIRA, of *Galkande Wihâra Kosgoda*
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 - 86 SIRI SUMANA UNNÂNSÊ, of *Kalannilla, Kalutara*
 - 87 SUBHÛTI UNNÂNSÊ, of *Washaduwa*
-

ACCOUNTS, 1882

RECEIPTS

Donors	£ s d
Subscribers of five guineas	44 8 0
Subscribers of one guinea	73 10 0
Interest from the Bank	66 3 0
Sale of MSS	2 16 7
Balance from Ceylon as per annexed account	17 14 0
	60 0 10
	<u>£264 12 5</u>

EXPENDITURE

Printing	£ s d
Postage and Stationery (including all costs incurred in sending publications to Members)	166 12 6
Loss by exchange	15 18 4
Carriage of MSS	1 2 7
Balance	0 5 4
	80 13 8
	<u>£ 64 12 5</u>

ACCOUNTS IN CEYLON, 1882

RECEIPTS

94 subscribers at Rs 10½	Rs Cents
3 subscribers at Rs 2½	987
	157 50

PAYMENTS

MSS of Madureetha pakkadani	Rs Cents
Copying of Samyutta	15
Paid to W. Subbōti for MSS	50
Copying Visuddhi Magga	100
Copying Manorata Pūraṇi	25
Carriage of MSS to England	50
Local postage and printing	6
Balance* in hand	10 60
	852
	<u>1144 50</u>

RECEIPTS ONLY DURING 1883

Donors	£ s d
Subscribers of five guineas	280 10 0
Subscribers of one guinea	115 10 0
Gift from India Office	11 19 0
Interest from the Bank*	15 0 0
	4 11 11
	<u>£411 10 11</u>

* Rupees 750 = £60 0s 10d transmitted by draft July 10th, 1883

* Balance at Bank on 31st December £401 5s d

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